

Fifty Irish Lives in Canada

1661 to 2016

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(Editors)

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PREFACE

The Royal Irish Academy (RIA) published *Irish Lives in America* in December 2021. By then I had been in Ottawa for just over a year as Ambassador. Surely, I thought, the story of the Irish in Canada merited a similar volume; even more so as it had been barely known either side of the North Atlantic.

Professor Mark McGowan immediately endorsed the idea of a Canadian version. Within days of ricocheting emails, the enthusiastic and willing response of the prospective contributors launched what was, for all involved, a labour of both love and discovery. Sage and expert advice flowed from Mark, David Wilson, Michele Holmgren, Jane McCaughey, and Elizabeth Smyth, among others.

To avoid being overwhelmed, we decided to limit the candidates for profiles to those who had been born in Ireland and who had already died. We realised quickly that we should strive to embrace not just those whose achievements gave them prominence, but those whose 'ordinary' lives were emblematic of the immigrant experience.

From the outset, it was clear that we had a notable preponderance of male candidates and a shortage of women, at least in any significant numbers and certainly far short of any balance. Society at the time and in recorded history rendered half the population invisible: lack of respect, education, and encouragement denied most women opportunities in life and a place in the record books. Many of those who made an impact suffered anonymisation. We have tried to remedy this but there is much work to be done to recover women and their contribution, whether quotidian or prominent.

As the project gathered pace, we grasped that not only was the story fascinating, it was also complex. The portfolio of lives we had assembled demonstrated the many and varied roles played by the Irish, but all in some way contributed to the European settlement project in North America, with all of the dire consequences for Indigenous communities. Over three centuries, these Irish lives were lived in a dynamic context. This context was defined by the symbiotic relationship between the colony of Ireland, England's first imperial adventure, and Canada, England's valued, strategic colony and later partner.

I want to thank all those who have been involved in this project, particularly the contributors who so readily volunteered their expertise as well as their commitment. Mark McGowan's support and advice has been as unerring as it has been invaluable. His overview essay of the patterns of Irish migration to British North America captures their duration and complexity with eloquence born of a lifetime devoted to understanding the story of the Irish in Canada. I would like to acknowledge the

commitment and support of James Maloney MP whose leadership in Parliament led to March being officially designated Irish Heritage Month, a spur to our efforts and this publication.

The RIA provided not only the inspiration for this volume, but also timely encouragement and advice. We adhered to its model in limiting each profile to 1000 words. That is no easy task, as we quickly learned. However, the adherence to such concision elicited the essence of each life. I hope we have achieved it without compromise of thoroughness or eloquence.

Finally, the contributors and I would like to pay tribute to the myriad of Irish organizations, communities and individuals who strived through the generations, with great pride, to preserve their Irish heritage and to pass on their stories from one generation to the next. Often they persevered in the face of hostile attitudes to the Irish in general and to Irish Catholics in particular. That time has well passed as Canada fully embraced its rich diversity decades ago. Within that diversity, the Irish community continues with renewed pride to record and promote their heritage. We dedicate this volume to them.

Eamonn McKee
Ambassador of Ireland
Ottawa

INTRODUCTION

The European arrival in North America was a result of imperial rivalries that first spurred transatlantic exploration and eventually a process of colonisation, vast in its scope. Though often told as a story of immigration, the Irish presence in Canada was in fact a direct outcome of this colonisation process. It spanned three centuries and in sheer numbers was hugely significant. Much of Canada's settlement comprised the Irish, who by the late 19th century were the largest group in Ontario, the Province at the heart of British North America. What makes the Irish Canadian historical relationship complex and fascinating is that it involved two colonies. Ireland was England's first island colony and a 'laboratory of empire' from the Tudor invasion of the 16th century onwards. Both the successful colonisers of Ireland and eventually the colonised Irish filled the ranks of the settlement project that created Britain's valued strategic colony, Canada. Accompanying the large numbers was a commensurate degree of influence.

Immigration was certainly an important factor in Irish settlement, but the overarching role of colonialism provided the critical framework. The exodus from Ireland reflected the progression of England's colonisation of Ireland over the centuries. In the 18th century, it involved the descendants of the successful colonisers, the Anglo-Irish aristocrats and Protestant tenant farmers. Major events altered the nature of the exodus: the impact of the French Revolution and the rebellion in Ireland of 1798, the abolition of the Irish Parliament in 1800, the Napoleonic Wars and the post-Napoleon period of economic recession, Catholic tenant impoverishment and the Great Famine, and the emergence of a Catholic middle class. The generational waves of Irish crossing the Atlantic traced as well as sustained the outward spread of British imperialism to North America.

The colonial framework carries with it profound and significant implications for understanding the story of the Irish in Canada. Firstly, it demonstrates the extent to which the Irish of all loyalties and beliefs were involved in Britain's imperial project. Secondly, it identifies the degree of exchange between Ireland and Canada when it came to the debates about their respective futures and relationship with Britain. Thirdly, it explains the evolution of the two solitudes of Francophone Quebec and Anglophone Ontario and how the Irish navigated this binary. Fourthly, colonialism was the source and foundation for the complex relationship of the Indigenous peoples toward the British Crown, the impact of the settlement project on their communities, and ultimately, their fate.

Colonialism, not immigration, binds these processes causally. To see the Irish in Canada as immigrants only is to miss this far larger and more consequential story. Disastrous for the Indigenous peoples, the transatlantic colonisation of North America, that is Canada and the United States, created a

powerful Anglophone architecture of politics, trade, diplomacy, culture, values, language, and hard power. This transatlantic imperial creation decisively influenced the outcome of both world wars in the 20th century and continues to have global influence, not least in the emergence of English as the international lingua franca.

Fifty Irish Lives in Canada captures through individual lives this complex and prolonged process. The Anglo-Irish were the winners in the conquest of Ireland. They found a new outlet for their colonial soldiering and administrative skills in British North America: men such as Governor General Guy Carleton, the man who saved Quebec from American invaders and was Governor General after France ceded most of Canada to Britain in 1763. Thereafter, the Anglo-Irish occupied roles as lieutenant governors in the new Provinces like Guy's brother Thomas Carleton in New Brunswick, John Parr in Nova Scotia, and Walter Patterson in what would become Prince Edward Island, though he dearly wished to have it called New Ireland. Richard Bulkeley earned the moniker 'founding father' of Nova Scotia when he died in 1800 after fifty years' public service that had begun with the founding of the Province.

Though he never crossed the Atlantic, the Irish-born and raised Duke of Wellington reshaped Canada. Successively as Master-General of the Ordnance, commander-in-chief of the British Army, and Prime Minister, he oversaw in the 1820s and 1830s the creation of 'fortress Canada' with a network of canals, fortifications and settled soldiers, many of whom were Irish - the better to defend against invading Americans. He saw Canada as key to British global hegemony, the threat to which was no longer France but the United States. All that activity drew in generations of Irish Protestant and Catholic soldiers, labourers, farmers and entrepreneurs.

The Great Irish Famine of 1845-1851 provoked a massive exodus, eventually numbering in the millions. In 1847, more than 106,000 fled to Canada, twenty percent of whom died en route or shortly after arriving in Canada. They were more refugees than immigrants. Their sea passage to Canada was often horrendous, earning for the vessels the infamous sobriquet 'coffin ships.' Canadian compassion saved most of them. Their arrival boosted Irish numbers in cities from Saint John to Toronto. Anglo-Irish landlords from Sligo to Wicklow cleared their Irish estates by exporting tenants to Canada in a process of both assisted emigration and forced relocation.

As Mark McGowan reveals in his essay *Kindred Spirits*, the Indigenous of Canada witnessed the arrival of the famine refugees and set about gathering their meagre funds to offer relief to the starving Irish. This effort was far more widespread than has been appreciated hitherto and deserves to join that of the Choctaw contribution as a symbol of human compassion and common humanity in the face of disaster.

Britain granted Canada responsible government (i.e. the accountability of the colonial executive to elected local representatives) in the 1840s and then autonomy as a Confederation and first Dominion in 1867. This constitutional generosity toward Canada reinforced the demand in Ireland for Home Rule, the return of the parliament abolished in 1800. The Great Famine added urgency and passion to this campaign.

To force Britain from Ireland, the Fenians invaded Canada in 1866 and 1870 precisely because they understood its strategic value to the British Empire. In the wake of the American Civil War, they hoped to excite an Anglo-US war and create the circumstance for Britain's expulsion from Ireland. Their failure meant that the bulk of the Irish in Canada remained moderate nationalists, content to be part of Britain's first Dominion within the evolving Commonwealth. They demanded the same for Ireland. For many Irish nationalists on both sides of the Atlantic, Canada was Ireland's future. Parnell, Redmond and other members of the Irish Parliamentary Party were regular visitors to Canada, advocating for Ireland's cause.

For all of the resonances between Canada and Ireland, London's perspective on each was radically different. Fears of US annexation or Quebecois secession led them to appease Canadian demands for autonomy, comfortable in the knowledge that the loyal and Protestant culture of Ontario and the satisfaction of Quebec with its own internal autonomy would prevent steps towards a republic. In contrast, London had no such assurance about Irish nationalist ambitions and felt obliged to preserve the socio-economic and political hegemony of its Unionist constituency in Ireland. Home Rule in Ireland ran against Britain's imperial interests. That logic frustrated Home Rule legislation for fifty years.

There were three Anglo-Irish Governors General during and after Confederation: Charles Monck, Lord Lisgar (Sir John Young) and the Earl of Dufferin (Sir Frederick Temple Blackwood). They worked to stabilise the new relationship between Confederated Canada, the UK, and indeed the US. They left lasting legacies in Canada's material heritage, from the Governor General's official residence at Rideau Hall to the preservation of the old walls of Quebec.

Irish church leaders like Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming (1829-1850) in Newfoundland, and Archbishop John Joseph Lynch (1870-1888) in Toronto learned their politics in colonial Ireland and applied them constructively in Canada. They were representative of many Irish religious who created as strong a Catholic Church and related services in education and health for their community as enjoyed by the Quebecois. The Irish in Quebec were effectively a double minority. However, their shared faith as Catholics generated a partnership between the Irish and Quebecois as they fought for rights such as religiously denominational schools. Irish women religious played leadership roles in the

development of Canadian education. Irish women writers articulated through fiction the dislocations of immigrant life in a country so different from home.

Thomas D'Arcy McGee's intellectual and political journey spanned Ireland, the United States and Canada. His evolution from Fenian to constitutionalist to Canadian nationalist informed his leadership in the Confederation debates. He ensured that the new Canada would protect and respect minority rights without weakening a sense of national identity. To McGee, Canada owes its constitutional commitment to unity in diversity. His hostility to the Fenians was in part the extension of debates and antagonisms back home in Ireland. It was also a product of his vision of Canadian nationalism. His unauthorised assassination at the hands of Fenians prematurely ended one of the most remarkable and influential Irish lives in Canada.

Tensions back in Ireland regularly played out in Canada from the mid-19th to mid-20th centuries, notably between Catholic nationalists and Orange loyalists. Not for nothing was Toronto known as the Belfast of Canada. In loyal Canada, led by a Protestant Anglophone elite, the Catholic Irish often faced suspicions and outright discrimination. For some it was convenient to conceal their Irish origins and heritage. Yet from early on, there was also an impulse to leave behind the sharp sectarian divisions of home, facilitated by the expansiveness of Canada and its opportunities. Eventually, it was the genius of Canadian political accommodation that allowed those divergent loyalties to find mutual accord in a stable and prosperous society.

To be European in Canada was to be part of a settler project. Where in the 18th century, the Indigenous were needed as guides, hunters, and military allies, they were deemed expendable as Confederated Canada expanded westward. Moreover, the government in Ottawa was concerned that a lawless border might occasion US attention and possibly annexation. In the imperial playbook, racist notions of what constituted progress and civilization motivated the settler community to organize their cultural genocide. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, originally the North-West Mounted Police, was modelled on the Royal Irish Constabulary to ensure the successful colonisation of the Northwest. For Indigenous communities, this force was the cutting edge of colonisation.

No figure encapsulates the complexity of the Irish in Canada more starkly than Nicholas Flood Davin. A supporter of Home Rule for Ireland, a supporter too of votes for women, Davin was inspired to write in 1877 a history of the Irish in Canada to correct a record that suggested Canada was the product of the Scotch, English, French and Mennonite Germans. He had harsh words for those Irish who denigrated their identity: "you may as well seek to fly from your shadow as to escape your nationality." Yet, it was this proud Irish nationalist who undertook the commission of Prime Minister John A.

Macdonald to report on Indigenous issues. He recommended the establishment of the Indian residential school system. From that conjuration of colonised and coloniser much tragedy flowed.

For all of their identification with Canada, the Irish retained an irreducible sense of their Irish identity. Mother Teresa Dease, leader of the Loretto teaching order, pioneered education in girls' and co-educational schools across Canada before and after Confederation. She corrected Princess Louise, wife of the Governor General, to say she was not English but Irish because "I come from Dublin."

By the outbreak of WWI, the varieties of Irishness in Canada had converged into a common sense of Canadian citizenship and indeed patriotism. Moreover, the success of John Redmond in finally getting Home Rule on the statute books, albeit postponed for the duration of the war, appeared to have finally settled matters and answered 'the Irish question'. The Irish joined the Canadian Expeditionary Force in numbers. It would do them no disservice to say they were fighting for king, country, and Home Rule for Ireland. For all intents and purposes, it seemed that Ireland would imminently realise its Canadian future.

"A terrible beauty" was born, wrote Irish poet W. B. Yeats of the Easter Rising in 1916. Organised by the Fenians, the Rising replayed the desperate bid for action, for some gesture of martial assertion, however doomed, that had inspired the Fenian invasions of Canada fifty years earlier. This time the impact of the stand taken and its outcome would be different. The Rising of 1916, Britain's execution of the leaders, the partition of Ireland, and the Irish War of Independence, ended Canada as Ireland's role model for the future. Through those seismic events, this aspiration was replaced by the vision of an Irish republic, everything utterly changed. Canada was the future that Ireland never had. Yeats might have well have written "a terrible simplicity" - history's complexity reduced to loyal unionists and rebellious nationalists. This was the politics of identity, not history. History is complicated and few histories more so than the Irish relationship with the British and our colonial legacy.

Ireland's independence in 1922, though marred for nationalists by partition and the creation of Northern Ireland, ended centuries of colonisation. In an ironic coda, Taoiseach John A. Costello was moved to announce that Ireland would become a republic when on a visit to Ottawa in 1948.

For those centuries, Ireland's colonisation was a fact to which the colonised had had to adapt if they were to survive and prosper, whether that meant joining the British Army, finding service in colonial administration, or simply joining settlement projects as immigrants. Survival demanded resilience and complicity in imperialism and colonisation, whether willing, necessary or compelled.

One of the features of the Irish in Canada was their family correspondence that carried news not simply back to Ireland but to relatives in all corners of the British Empire. Those letters, their tales of

adventures in new lands, and their global postmarks were talismans of the Irish experience of assertion and accommodation to the realities of life in the British Empire. That an independent Ireland emerged from that prolonged exposure to imperialism remains a remarkable testament to the resilience of the Irish.

The influence of the Irish in Canada, for the first and later generations, continued in many fields, though, for the most part, so much under the radar that its revelation is a surprise. It is hidden in plain sight in the names of businesses like Eaton's, Richardson's and Labatt's. James Robert Gowan's role in the creation of Canadian jurisprudence over sixty years of prodigious efforts on the bench and in the Senate remains unsung. It is even hidden in that Canadian icon, its flag, designed by a team led by an Irishman, Paddy Reid. Hidden too in Canada's immigrations laws, amended thanks to the relentless campaigning of Brigid Coll, the last of our profiles.

In *Fifty Irish Lives in Canada*, we can trace the complexity of choices made by previous generations in shifting and dynamic contexts. Their choices were inextricably linked to the course of Ireland's own history and its relationship with Britain and its far-flung empire. There is much more to learn about the deeply interwoven ties across the Atlantic that bind Canada to the British and Irish isles.

Our past has left us not just a complex history and a rich heritage but also legacies. It could not have been otherwise. For Canada, it is reconciling with Indigenous communities. For Ireland, it is reconciling our divided traditions and divided island. Imperfect outcomes and visions yet to be fulfilled should not detract from our efforts to apply a rights-based and principled approach to these legacies. Progress has been made on both legacies, paths toward accommodations have been set out.

Reflections on the Irish in Canada refract back Ireland's own history and the divided loyalties that expressed themselves in partition and conflict. The Good Friday Agreement commits to and implements a vision of Ireland where you can be British, Irish or both. If there is an overarching theme to this book, the Irish accommodation of divergent loyalties within Canada, and how that has been negotiated over three centuries, is summarised in that commitment. As Canada came of age as a nation, political visionaries like Robert Emmet, Richard Uniacke, Archbishop Thomas Connolly, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, and many others, articulated a vision of being Canadian that both sublimated and respected that choice.

From this complex and colonial past, Ireland and Canada emerged as two nations firmly committed to principles that stand in contrast to many of the forces and biases that shaped us. We see this in the evolution of Ireland's Constitution and the judicial activism of Canada's Supreme Court in giving effect

to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Both our societies stand ready to amend our laws to achieve higher aims and adjust to new imperatives, such as marriage equality. Ireland and Canada are demonstrably open, multicultural, tolerant, and inclusive, devoted to the rule of the law and human rights. At the heart of both our societies lies an ineffable but powerful desire for community. Both Ireland and Canada are champions of the international order in general and the United Nations in particular. We both esteem, for example, peacekeeping and our peacekeepers have sacrificed their lives in the line of duty. We strive for a more equitable world. Like all nation states, we may fall short of our principles from time to time, but this should not detract from our aspiration to do better, to reach for principle-based solutions won through persuasion. Above all, Ireland and Canada have sought to master their histories to better ends, not succumb to them. In that, today we can find common cause with many of the figures here featured in Fifty Irish Lives in Canada.

Eamonn McKee
Ambassador of Ireland
Ottawa

OVERVIEW

Irish Migration and Settlement in Canada

Professor Mark G. McGowan

The Canadian and American experiences of mass Irish migration and settlement are different. In the British North American colonies, the Great Irish Famine migration was more the highwater mark of longstanding Irish migration than the beginning of such. Irish migrants appeared in France's Canadian empire as early as the 17th century, and Irish fisherman and mariners frequented the waters off Newfoundland in the same period. In the three decades immediately prior to the Famine close to 450,000 Irish migrated to the British North American colonies. Included in these 19th century migrations were thousands of Protestant Irish. Thus, the term "Irish" in Canada did not automatically equate with Roman Catholic. In the United States, historian Kevin Kenny has referred to Irish settlement as primarily urban; by contrast in the British colonies, most of the Irish settled in rural areas, and a minority in the major cities. Finally, the Irish migration to British North America was highly differentiated, with various regions of Ireland, and its peoples, linked by chain migration and shipping routes to specific colonies and areas in the colonies. As a result, there is not common Irish community in Canada, but more or less a community of communities, depending largely on the Irish region or origin, the timing of their migration, and the culture and character of the host colonial society that engaged them.

Little known to Canadians is the presence of Irish settlers and sojourners in New France. There were many reasons for the Irish to make a home in France's overseas Empire. Irish Catholic settlers in the English colonies in America often fled to New France, where they were permitted the free exercise of their Catholic Faith. Other Irish men and women were forcibly taken to Quebec because of raids made by the French and their First Nations allies along the borders of New York, New England, and even Virginia. A third migration pattern consisted of soldiers and "men of means" fleeing Ireland in the 17th century, many of whom enlisted in the French army and navy and found themselves posted to Quebec. Such was the case of Charles de Latouche McCarthy, who was born in Brest in 1706, France, son of Irish refugees. He was a decorated captain in the French navy and served in New France from 1737 to 1763. Similarly, the first recorded Irish resident of New France was Tadhg O'Brennan, a member of a prominent military family, who escaped the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland via France, and then arrived in the French colonies in 1661 at the age of 29. He married Jeanne Chartier and had seven children. The O'Brennans were not alone among Irish families in New France who Gallicized their names and assimilated into their new French and Catholic home. By 1700, an index of parish registers

indicates that of the 2,500 families living in the colony, about 100 were natives of Ireland, and there were 30 other cases where either the husband or the wife was Irish born.

Irish fishermen from Wexford and Waterford were frequent visitors to the Grand Banks of Newfoundland as early as the mid 17th century. They were engaged in the “dry” cod fishery which required them to take their catches on shore to dry and salt the fish on flakes (racks) and then transport the salted cod back to Europe. In time, these fishermen eschewed the annual trip because they found it more convenient to remain in Newfoundland, set up their flakes, and then ship their salted cod by means of a few selected vessels instead of the entire fleet. Despite the English Admiralty not desiring any colonial settlement on the island, the Irish by necessity had created the first Imperial residence in the colony. Situated mostly in the coves and outports of the Avalon Peninsula and harbours of Bonavista Bay, the Irish also became the principal inhabitants of St. John’s (NL), which in turn became a dispersal point for further Irish migration throughout what would become Canada’s Maritime Provinces.

Known colloquially as “two boaters” (one boat to Newfoundland, and a second boat elsewhere), Irish settlers established farmsteads in the Miramichi Valley of New Brunswick, in the Margaree Valley of Cape Breton Island, (CB) and on the tenancies of Prince Edward Island. Irish two boaters also migrated to the port centres of Sydney, CB, and Halifax, Nova Scotia. There were already Irish settlers and sojourners in Halifax, many of whom could trace their origins to the labourers hired to build the citadel fortifications that began to tower over the harbour in 1749. Other Irish settler colonists came directly from Ulster and the midland counties, also established farming communities in the Chignecto Isthmus region of Nova Scotia, near to the shores of the Bay of Fundy, and in the Saint John River Valley, in the colony of New Brunswick (NB). It was not unusual, given the navigational and trade ties between Saint John NB and the Irish ports of Cork (Queenston/Cobh) and London/Derry, that Protestant Irish migrants would be heavily represented among those Irish who landed in the Bay of Fundy region.

The Maritime settlements were religiously diverse. Irish Catholics dominated Newfoundland, Halifax, and Prince Edward Island, while Irish Protestants were close to half of the Irish population in New Brunswick and the majority in northern Nova Scotia. It was through the agency of Irish settlers that infrastructures for the Roman Catholic, Anglican (Church of England/Ireland), and Presbyterian Churches appeared. Included in these Church establishments were the importation of Irish clergy, the appointment of Irish bishops, the recruitment of Irish religious orders, particularly women’s congregations, and the construction of chapels, churches, and Cathedrals. The Irish Catholics of St. John’s provide an excellent example of the Hibernization of the Catholic Church in the Atlantic colonies. In 1784, the Vatican established the first Prefecture Apostolic (with its first bishop in 1795),

making it the oldest Catholic bishopric in Canada, except for Quebec City (1658). Six Irish-born bishops held the See, from 1795 to 1893. In that time these Irish prelates recruited the Irish Presentation Sisters, Sisters of Mercy, and Christian Brothers to provide Catholics with schools, regardless of class or social standing in Newfoundland. Similarly, across the region Irish-born bishops dominated new episcopal establishments in Halifax, Chatham, and Fredericton (later Saint John).

Irish migration to the interior colonies of Upper and Lower Canada (as of 1841, the United Province of Canada, and in 1867, Ontario and Quebec) were funnelled through the port of Quebec City, or ventured north through the Hudson River corridor to Montreal, via New York, or later via the Erie Canal from Albany to the Niagara region. Unlike Irish migration to Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, most which came from the southeast of Ireland, or emigrants to New Brunswick who hailed principally from Ulster and western Munster, Irish migrants to the port of Quebec came from all counties and many made the voyage via the English port of Liverpool. After 1815, and the end of the Napoleonic Wars, young Irish men were attracted to the availability of work on canal projects, lumber camps in the Ottawa Valley, and the opening of ceded and unceded Indigenous lands for farming. In the 1820s and 1830s, Irish labourers were prominent in the building of the Welland Canal, which allowed navigation to circumvent Niagara Falls, and the Rideau Canal which linked the fortified town of Kingston with Bytown (renamed Ottawa in 1855) on the Ottawa River, allowing the British to avoid the severing of transportation between the Upper and Lower Canadian colonies, in the event of an American invasion.

Families from Ireland were attracted by cheap farmland (in the early nineteenth century, free) in the St. Lawrence Valley, the Talbot Settlement on Lake Erie, the Ottawa Valley, and in the one million-acre Huron Tract in what is now western Ontario. Noticeable in their migration were Irish Protestants from the midland counties and from Ulster, who created migration chains between Ireland and central Canada. In one instance, Ulster Protestants created farmsteads in townships appropriately named Monaghan and Cavan. Fiercely ethno-centric, a small group of these settlers, known locally as the "Cavan Blazers," prohibited Catholic settlement in these townships by "burning out" Catholic farmsteads in the 1840s. In Pontiac County, on the Lower Canadian shore of the Ottawa River (now Quebec), an Irish Protestant surveyor in Clarendon Township prohibited Catholic settlement, hoping that the religious and political sectarianism evident in Ireland would not be replicated in Canada. He did allow three Catholics, former colleagues in the British Army, to settle provided they did not reveal their religion to their neighbours. To this day, the principal town in the county, Shawville, still has an active Orange Hall (LOL27), which flies the Union Jack, and there is no Catholic Church in the township. In the pre-Famine period it is estimated that over sixty percent of the Irish who settled in Upper Canada were Protestant. It was these settlers who established a grid of Anglican (Church of

England/Ireland) and Presbyterian churches across the rural areas and small towns of what is now Ontario.

Irish Catholic settlement was more robust in the cities and rural areas of Lower Canada (Quebec) and in pockets across Upper Canada (Ontario). The former province was attractive because Roman Catholicism was publicly practiced and recognized in law since the passage of the Quebec Act in 1774. Before 1829, Irish Catholic migrants would have been astounded that, in the Canadas (Upper and Lower), they could vote, sit in legislatures, and aspire to the liberal professions in ways not available to them in Ireland. There was substantial Irish Catholic sojourning and settlement in Montreal, Canada's largest city, where Irish Catholics soon came to understand that they had a "double minority" status. They were a religious minority among the Anglophones of the city, and a linguistic minority among the French Canadian Catholic majority in Montreal. As a result, this group of Irish migrants clung and promoted their Irish identity as a badge of distinction from their neighbours. Irish Catholics could also be found in the farmsteads of rural "Quebec": at St. Columba, north of Montreal; the Outaouais region, the Gatineau Valley; the Francois River Valley; and at St-Sylvestre.

In Upper Canada, Irish Catholic farmers were prominent in what is now Renfrew County in the Ottawa Valley, Lanark County, Adjala Township north of Toronto, and in the Huron Tract lands of Biddulph Township. Other townships in the Tract contained many Protestant Irish migrants. Some of the most famous Irish settlers in Upper Canada, however, were the Peter Robinson migrants from Tipperary and Cork, who comprised the only state-sponsored assisted migration of Irish to Canada before the Famine. In 1820s, two large groups of Irish, mostly Catholic, were settled in Lanark and Carleton Counties (1823), and in Peterborough County (1825). Most historians accept that at least 450,000 Irish migrated to British North America before 1845, and in so doing created a settlement grid, kinship networks, and migration chains that pre-dated the catastrophe of the Great Famine.

Irish social and economic decline after the Act of Union in 1800, the potato blight and the ensuing spread of infectious disease created Ireland's greatest human tragedy in its modern history. In 1841 the population of Ireland was just over eight million, by the late 1850s it was just over five million. At least one million Irish died and at least 1.5 million emigrated to Great Britain, the United States, Australia, and British North America. The Famine period, 1845-1852, marked the high-water mark of Irish migration to British North America. In 1847, alone, at least 110,000 Irish left Irish and British ports for Quebec (90,000), Saint John, (17,000), and Halifax (2,000). BNA ports became more desirable to ship owners and some landlords because fares were cheaper than to the United States, standards looser or non-existent, and ports were less punitive financially about landing potentially sick passengers. Although there is a popular myth that America closed its ports, the evidence suggests that

119,000 Irish migrants landed in US ports in “Black ’47. It should be noted that in the United States the Famine migration marked the rapid increase in Irish immigration, whereas in Canada and the other British colonies, Irish migration rapidly dropped and paled in significance to the preferred destinations of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and New Orleans, after 1847. Given the prominence of Irish migration to British North America prior to 1846, Famine migration did not significantly alter pre-Famine settlement patterns, except in a few cities like Hamilton and Toronto. In fact, many Famine migrants to Canada simply used the British colony as a way station on route to the United States. It should also be noted that although there were high numbers of Irish Catholics among the Famine refugees, there were also Irish Protestants. In Toronto, for example, approximately 20% of the 1,124 Irish dead, in 1847, were Protestant. At Quebec, of the seven hundred Famine Orphans accommodated and placed in Canadian families, at least 100 were Protestant.

The loss of life during the Famine migration was particularly shocking. Of the 110,000 who set out for British North America, some 20% either died at sea, in quarantine stations, at makeshift fever hospitals, or in their places of sojourn. The quarantine stations at Grosse Ile, near Quebec, and Partridge Island, in Saint John Harbour, were simply overwhelmed in 1847, and were unprepared for the huge numbers of migrants who suffered from typhus (“ships fever”), dysentery, and in some cases small pox. At Partridge Island, 600 were buried on the island, and between 1845 and 1848 the death toll exceeded 2000 at New Brunswick’s principal quarantine station. At Grosse Ile, over 5,000 migrants died and were buried on the Island. Because the symptoms of typhus do not appear until after a week after one having been infected, suspected healthy migrants were allowed to move inland with disastrous results. Emigrant hospitals and hastily erected fever sheds in cities and towns in the interior of Canada soon became the foci of pestilence and death. Hundreds died at the Marine hospital in Quebec City; close to 6,000 were buried near the fever sheds at Point St. Charles at the western edge of Montreal; nearly 2,000 died and were buried in Kingston, and in Toronto, 1,124 of the over 38,000 migrants who landed there died before the end of January, 1848. The loss of life and the powerful images of Black ’47 in Canada, left an indelible mark on the popular historical memory. Even though Irish migration to the region prior to 1846 had been robust, religiously mixed, catalytic in establishing civil, social, and ecclesiastical infrastructure, Canadians and the Irish themselves, would often read the Irish experiences in Canada through the lens of the Famine.

The character and complexion of Irish communities varied as one moved across that vast Canadian landscape. The religion of the Irish was a case in point. Irish settlers in Quebec, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island were overwhelmingly Roman Catholic. This was not the case in either Ontario or New Brunswick, where Protestants were the majority in the former province, and almost even with Catholics in the latter. In both of these provinces, Irish Protestants acculturated

easily to the Protestant cultures that were in place from the late eighteenth century, and were renewed by subsequent waves of British migration. In the early twentieth century, Irish Protestants were enticed to form large block agricultural settlements in both Alberta and Saskatchewan. Irish Catholic cultures adapted to their new surroundings in different ways. In Halifax, Britain's "warden of the north" and principal naval installation in the north Atlantic, Irish Catholics readily acculturated to the norms of an Imperial port, formed local militia companies, and eagerly engaged in local civic politics. In Montreal, however, where Irish Catholics were a double minority, Irish settlers clung fast to their Irishness as the principal badge of identity, and Montreal became a hotbed of Irish nationalism for generations. In Toronto, Irish Catholics lived in caution in what had been termed "the Belfast of North America," although over time, and with waves of non-British immigrants in the twentieth century, gravitated to the political, social, and economic life of the dominant Anglo-Protestant culture. By the time of the Second South African War (Boer War) in 1899, and the Great War (1914-1918) Irish Catholics joined Irish Protestants in rallying to the assistance of the British Empire.

One of the chief means of Irish social adjustment in Canada came through associational life. In fraternal benevolent and nationalistic associations, immigrant communities could both retain a sense of Irish identity while offering a sense of community, in addition to financial support to fellow Irishmen and women in need. Most notable among the associations was the importation of the Loyal Orange Order, which was re-established in Canada by Ogle Gowan, an immigrant from Wexford. Dedicated to preserving ties between the colonies and the Crown, loyalty to the Empire, and the open Bible, the Order became a powerful broker in Canadian political life and by the late nineteenth-century included one third of Canada's adult male Protestant population. In time, the association's Irishness was diluted with the inclusion of Scots, English, Welsh, and Italian members. Noted most often by historians for its persistent opposition to Catholic assertiveness in the public square, the Order's fraternal benefit system is often overlooked. Orange lodges offered financial assistance and death benefits to its members and a cultivated a sense of community, particularly in isolated rural settlements. Catholic and Protestants, in the early period of settlement, often joined together to establish charitable aid societies to assist Irish migrants and other in need. The Benevolent Irish Society of Newfoundland, the Charitable Irish Society of Halifax, and the St. Patrick's Benevolent Society of Toronto were a few examples of this more ecumenical behaviour by the Irish in early British North America.

While Irish Catholics would also create distinctive associations (Hibernian Benevolent Association, Toronto, The St. Patrick's Society, Montreal, or the Ancient Order of Hibernians), the Catholic Church itself provided the principal foci of Catholic life across all colonies. Bishops of Irish birth or descent dominated the Catholic Church in English Canada until the mid-twentieth century. As has been seen

in the case of Newfoundland, the Catholic women's religious orders, many from Ireland or with Irish women in leadership and the ranks, created massive networks that provided education, social service, and healthcare for the entire Catholic community and others. Irish-born women such as Mother Theresa Dease, IBVM, Mother Bernard Dinan, CSJ, and Mother Bernard Kirwan, PBVM, helped lay the foundations for a robust Irish Catholic social and religious life across Canada. Similarly, Irish priests and religious were recruited to animate the hundreds of parishes across the country. These men gradually gave way to Canadian men of Irish descent, who assumed control of parish life and helped to maintain Irish traditions parochially. By the early twentieth century, it was clear to leaders in the Catholic Church of Irish birth and descent that, outside of Quebec the Church was under their control and the English language would dominate. This perception was shared by officials in the Vatican, who did not hesitate to populate new diocese in the west of Canada with men of Irish descent: McGuigan, McNally, Nelligan, Sinnott, O'Leary, and Casey.

Both Irish and Protestant Canadians did not forget the struggles of their birthplace. A variety of Irish nationalisms emerged in Canada over time, and were visible during times of crisis in Ireland, particularly during the Home Rule crises, the challenges to Irish landholding, the wars of Independence, and "the Troubles." Many Irish Protestant Canadians supported Unionism and the retention of Ireland within the United Kingdom. Other Irish, both Catholic and Protestant sympathized with the movements for Irish autonomy. The largest group of these historically were constitutional nationalists, who envisioned an Ireland with a similar status within the British Empire/Commonwealth as enjoyed by Canada, Australia, or New Zealand. These constitutional nationalists, through their donations, newspaper editorials and political rhetoric clearly supported the likes of Daniel O'Connell, Charles Parnell, and John Redmond. During the Irish civil war, most Irish Canadians favoured the Free State faction led by Michael Collins over that of Eamonn de Valera. A small but robust number of Irish Canadians favoured physical force to achieve complete independence of Ireland from Great Britain and the creation of an Irish republic. Perhaps their point of greatest strength was during the 1860s, when the Fenian movement had considerable support in Canada. Later, in the period following the Great War Katherine Hughes would be a prominent Irish Canadian in favour of Ireland's republican movement. While Irish nationalisms in Canada differed, and sometimes clashed, the retention of this sense of "Irishness" among immigrant and their descendants was evidence, that although there may have been a "waning of the green," concern for Ireland was alive and well when circumstances called for it.

Catholics and Protestants of Irish birth or descent were eager to participate in the political arenas of Canada. Richard Uniacke, for instance, became a major political figure in the formative years of the Nova Scotia legislature. John Costigan and Timothy Warren Anglin were active in New Brunswick

politics, as was Edward Whelan in Prince Edward Island. The most notable of the nineteenth century Irish Canadian politicians was Thomas D'Arcy McGee. Born in Carlingford, McGee eschewed his political roots in the Young Ireland movement and became one of the most eloquent voices for Confederation, the union of the British North American colonies in 1867 and the establishment of a federal parliament and government under the Crown. His outspoken opposition to Fenianism and physical-force nationalism in Ireland and the diaspora cost him his life in 1868, when he was felled by an assassin's bullet. Inspired by McGee's vision of Canada, many of Irish birth and descent stepped into the breach of Canadian Federal, Provincial, and Municipal politics. At least five Canadian Prime Ministers could claim Irish descent: Sir John Thompson, Arthur Meighan, Louis St. Laurent, Brian Mulroney, and Paul Martin, Jr. Other Irish and their descendants filled the ranks of cabinet ministers, members of legislatures and city councils across the country. When one examines the legacy of Irish Canadian contributions to civic life in contemporary Canada it is not hard to discover prominent contribution of men and women with surnames like: McKenna, Crombie, Crosby, Whelan, Flaherty, McGuinty, Ahern, Fogarty, Leddy, Maloney, Scott, Savage, and Horgan, to name a few.

As the biographies in this collection (and those still to be included) attest, Irish-born Canadians and their descendants have made significant contributions to all aspects of Canadian life. Irish emigrants have been leaders in resource industries, manufacturing, and agricultural development (John Egan, John Glenn, Patrick Burns, & Nicholas Balfe); they have been founders of Canadian banking (Edward Kenny); and innovators in Canadian retail (Timothy Eaton, John C. Tobin & Frank Smith). They have also piloted trade and industrial unions in Canada to secure social justice for workers and their families. Irish descendant and emigrants have become notable in Canadian sport, where excellence in ice hockey is measured by such names as Heaney, Keon, Clancy, and Nolan. Irish emigrants have also distinguished themselves in literature and journalism as novelists, musicians, poets, and newspaper editors. Here names like Anna Sadlier, Anna Brownell Jameson, Agnes Higginson Skrine (Moirá O'Neill), the Millar Brothers, Patrick Cronin, and Patrick Boyle, come to mind. First generation Irish Canadians such as John Macoun, could also be found as pioneers of exploration and science in their adopted home. Today 4.4 million (12%) of Canadians can claim Irish birth or descent. They stand on the shoulders of giants who have made enormous contributions to Canadian society and the country's reputation globally. The prominent Irish could only achieve their pre-eminence from within the communities of ordinary Irish whose own lives as immigrants were extraordinary in themselves. Without those generations, neither the Canada of today nor the Irish community of Canada would have been possible. The 50 Irish Lives Project is a modest, but important beginning, to bring some of these Irish Canadian stories to light.

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O'BRENNAN, TADHG

Born: 1632, Castlecomer, Co. Kilkenny

Died: 1687, Pointe-aux-Trembles, Quebec

Authors: Eamonn McKee & Mark G. McGowan

Tadhg O'Brennan and the Irish of New France

Tadhg Cornelius Ó'Braonáin, Tadhg O'Brennan, known as Tec Cornelius Aubrenan, may have been the first documented Irish-born immigrant to Canada. There had been other Irish who had set foot in Canada before him, such as the fishermen who had settled in Newfoundland, and perhaps Irish women among the Norse explorers to what was known in their sagas as Vineland, now disputed as either Newfoundland or Cape Breton. The honour of being known and named in official records, however, lies with Tadhg O'Brennan.

Born around 1632, it appears that Tadhg was from a parish near Castlecomer, County Kilkenny. In a thoroughly researched paper published in 2002, Louis Aubry, one of his descendants, suggested that his father was Connor O'Brennan who held lands in Kilkenny. He further speculates that 'Diasonnay', the phonetic record of Tadhg's birthplace recorded on his marriage certificate, is probably a parish called Dysert near the river Dinin, a tributary of the Nore River just north of Kilkenny city. There he finds Dysert Bridge where the two rivers called Dinan converge.

The O'Brennans held their strategic lands and became known as a military force in the region. By the time of the Cromwellian invasions, in 1650, however, the O'Brennans were unable to hold their estates and it is likely that Tadhg was one of the many Irish soldiers allowed to leave for France after the Cromwellian invasion. In France, and though likely illiterate, Tadhg would have learned French, essential to his decision to move to New France.

Tadhg arrived in what was then New France in 1661 at the age of 29. He married Jeanne Chartier on 9 October 1670 in Notre Dame Cathedral in Quebec City, although they moved to the Montreal area where they had their family. Tadhg and Jeanne had seven children, Madeleine Therese (1671), Catherine (1673), Jean-Cornelius (1675), Jean-Baptiste (1676), Francois (1677), Geneviève (1679), Etienne Aubrenon, who died in infancy at Repentigny, in 1681. Tadhg died at age fifty-five in 1687 and is buried at Pointe-aux-Trembles, near Montreal.

Tadhg would have not felt isolated as an Irishman in the St. Lawrence Valley. In 1700, "Tanguay's Parish Registers" report that of the 2,500 families living in the colony, about 100 were natives of

Ireland, and there were 30 other cases where either the husband or the wife was Irish-born. In parish registers, the local priest just listed the individuals as “Irlandais,” without reference to county of origin. Among those discovered in the records of 17th century include Jean Houssye, dit Bellerose, who was actually John Hussey, married in New France in 1671. He was a native of Dublin and son of Matthew Hussey and Elizabeth Hogan of St. Lawrence O’Toole Parish. In 1688, Pierre and Jean Lehait were living in Quebec City, and were brothers formerly known as Peter and John Leahy from County Wicklow. Peter was a servant in the entourage of Governor Louis de Baude, Count de Frontenac. Similarly, two other Irishmen, Jean Lehaie (John Leahy) and Jean LeMer St.Germain, dit Irelande, of Thurles, were both granted land by the Sulpician Fathers, the seigneurs of the island of Montreal. Finally, in 1704, Jean Baptiste Riel was married at Isle du Pads. Antiquarian, John O’Farrell, suggests that he may actually be John Rielly of Limerick, and a distant ancestor of the famous Canadian patriot, Louis Riel.

The naturalization records from 17th century New France also list a number of women whose sometimes Gallicized names suggest Irish origin: Marie Washton (married to an Irish colonist); Anne Lord (Tierney); Catherine Dunkin (O’Dongen); Martha Finn; Madeline Alleyne (O’Halloyne); and Marie-Charlotte Brojon (O’Brogan). They may have come directly from Ireland, been refugees from the English colonies, or taken captive by French and Indigenous raiding parties on the frontiers of New England.

While Catholic refugees fleeing from the English and Protestant Colonies as far south as Virginia provided one of the sources of Irish migration to New France, the French and Spanish militaries were another important agency of emigration. Irish expatriates, like Tadhg who had joined the French army of Louis XIV often appeared in the regiments stationed in New France. Timothy Sullivan, for example, was a native of Kerry who had served with the Spanish Dragoons, and after having escaped capture by the English, fled to Montreal via the New England colonies. In 1718, he appears as a physician in Montreal, with a Gallicized surname Sylvain, and married the widowed mother of Marguerite D’Youville, the founder the Sisters of Charity, or Grey Nuns. Similarly, Charles de Latouche McCarthy, was born in Brest in 1706, France, son of Irish refugees. He was a decorated captain in the French navy and served in New France from 1737 to 1763. He married Angelique-Jeanne Guillimin, the daughter of a member of the Sovereign Council. He served New France with distinction through the wars of the Austrian Succession (1740-47) and the Seven Years War (1756-63). During the latter war, Governor Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil assembled an Irish Company of troops consisting of deserters from the English army, Irish colonists, and refugees in New France. His Irish company was transferred to the European theatre of the war before the fall of New France in 1760.

We do not know much about Tadhg O'Brennan's life in Quebec. Nevertheless, he represents several generations of Irish men and women who recognized that there was no future for themselves or their faith after the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland. They found temporary homes in France, either through the military or the merchant trades, and many ended up in France's colonial possessions in North America. Other Irish had found themselves in the New England colonies, but fled to New France for the liberty of practicing their Catholic Faith. Tadhg's family lineage, and that of Sullivan and McCarthy, were in themselves a plumb line that reached deep into Ireland's history. As a microcosm of early Irish migration to Canada, Tadhg is a fitting character to have the honour of being the first officially recorded Irishman in Canada.

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BULKELEY, RICHARD

Born: 1717, Dublin, Co. Dublin

Died: 1800, Halifax, Nova Scotia

Author: Eamonn McKee

There have been many famous Anglo-Irish figures in Canada's history including Guy and Thomas Carleton, Richard Uniacke, Arthur Wellesley, Charles Monck and Lord and Lady Dufferin. Yet few have had such an influence on the development of a singular Province as that of Richard Bulkeley had on Nova Scotia. Few have been so thoroughly lost to the mists of time.

If any place can be said to be the product of one man, Halifax and Nova Scotia owe what they are to Dubliner Richard Bulkeley. The history of colonial enterprises in North America is littered with failures. Endowed with prodigious energy, organizational brilliance, integrity, charm and redoubtable diplomatic skills, Bulkeley ensured that Halifax would be a success and he Nova Scotia's most respected administrator from its founding expedition in 1749 to his death in 1800.

Bulkeley was the second son of Lawrence and Elizabeth (née Freke) whose families had generations previously secured positions and lands in the conquest of Ireland. Like so many non-inheriting Anglo-Irish sons, he chose a career in the British military. Fluency in French and German suggest active service in Europe. He became aide-de-camp to his friend Edward Cornwallis in 1749. Cornwallis had been charged with organizing an expedition to establish a fort at the natural harbour of Chebucto, to be named Halifax, along with civil government and "the better peopling and settling of the said province," in the words of the London Gazette advertisement. It was either that or allow the French do so, as they very nearly had done in 1746, in the great see-sawing for control of North America between the rival empires.

Cornwallis's aide and right hand man "was a young army bachelor like himself, Richard Bulkeley, tall, handsome, Irish, wealthy, a former king's messenger and captain of the dragoons whose equipment for the wilderness included a valet, a groom, a butler, three blood horses and a vast amount of baggage", as Raddall wrote in his history of Halifax. Others left, but Bulkeley stayed, "somehow enchanted with this wild country and the raw new town." On stony soil, amidst hostile Indigenous and warring French, brutal winters and widespread disease, the new town of Halifax and the fortified harbour materialized.

Bulkeley's energy and talents saw him promoted to Director of Public Works by October. He lost little time in starting a family, marrying Mary Rous the summer after his arrival. The marriage produced

four sons. In a time when political disfavour, rivalry, disease and death could end a promising career, Bulkeley's rise was happily inexorable. Provincial Secretary by 1758, he served thirteen successive Lieutenant Governors because they found his knowledge and skills indispensable. Bulkeley helped organize peace with the Mi'kmaq and the ceremonial burying of the hatchet in 1761 ending 75 years of hostilities. Clerk of the Council in 1763, in 1775 Bulkeley started a twenty-five year career as judge of the Court of Admiralty. With his first wife now dead, Bulkeley married Mary Burgess in 1776. In the tumult of the American War of Independence, Bulkeley was appointed Brigadier-General of the provincial militia in 1780.

With the end of the War in 1783, the pace of change in the colonies quickened. John Parr, also from Dublin, became Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia. Parr and Bulkeley faced the challenge of settling thousands of demobilized soldiers and British loyalists fleeing the American republic. Notes the DCB, "Parr and Bulkeley sometimes worked 20 hours a day. The secretary's letter-book contains correspondence about rations and tools for the loyalists, surveying, and land grants, as well as material about the separation from Nova Scotia of the new provinces of New Brunswick, St John's (Prince Edward) Island, and Cape Breton." All the while, Bulkeley entertained on a grand scale with celebrations diplomatically spread across New Year's Eve, St Patrick's Day and St George's Day.

Manifestly for reasons of race, a different approach was taken with the arrival of the 3,500 black loyalists in Nova Scotia. Denied the three-year provisions allowed white loyalists, denied also sufficient land grants, they were compelled to work. What Bulkeley made of this disgrace we do not know, but he applied his usual efficiency for the disembarkation of some 1,200 black loyalists who had agreed to emigrate to Sierra Leone in 1791.

Bulkeley's energy and creativity extended well beyond his public duties. He was co-founder and President of the Charitable Irish Society of Halifax, a font of much benevolent work for centuries and still active today. Bulkeley was a devoted Mason and succeeded Parr as Grand Master by 1791. A vestryman and sometime organist at St Paul's, he promoted journalism, chess, art, and horse racing, including the importation of horses from Ireland.

Bulkeley earned the title 'founder of Province' in his obituary thanks to his contribution to the development of Halifax and Nova Scotia over half a century of bustling activity. The resilience of his career spoke to his unfailing integrity which earned him the respect and love of all classes across Nova Scotia. Bulkeley's role proved to be an enduringly valuable one for Britain militarily. Halifax became the 'Warden of the North' and 'sentry box to the St Lawrence', the key naval base protecting Britain's transatlantic connection to its most valuable colony strategically. Wellington understood this and invested in its facilities.

Bulkeley did leave one tangible legacy. He built as his home Carleton house, named in honour of his friend Guy, with stones from the old French fort at Louisburg, Cape Breton. Fittingly for a man of legendary hospitality, Bulkeley's former home is today a hotel.

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CARLETON, SIR GUY

(Lord Dorchester)

Born: 1724, Strabane, Co. Tyrone

Died: 1808, Maidenhead

Author: Denis McKim

A product of the Protestant Ascendancy, Guy Carleton was born in Strabane, County Tyrone, in 1724. He entered the military in 1742 and, a decade later, became military tutor to the Duke of Richmond. Carleton's ties to eminent individuals –he was also a favourite of James Wolfe and George III – accounts for why, despite a lack of administrative experience, he was appointed to positions of prominence in Quebec, the mostly French-speaking colony over which Britain gained control after the Seven Years' War. Carleton was named Lieutenant Governor of Quebec in 1766; and, following the departure of James Murray, the colony's first governor, he became Governor-in-Chief in 1768.

Carleton initially attempted to curry favour with members of Quebec's English-speaking minority, especially the clutch of merchants who served as the community's unofficial leaders. Yet he came to feel that it would be wiser to cultivate the colony's French-speaking community, the Canadiens, a group constituting the overwhelming majority of Quebec's 70,000-strong population. The administration's hope of an influx of English-speaking settlers into the colony from British-controlled territories to the south did not materialize. This unrequited expectation, in conjunction with the Canadiens' famously prolific birthrates, prompted Carleton to conclude that they would predominate in Quebec "until the end of time."

Given such circumstances, British imperial policy pivoted away from efforts to "anglicize" and toward attempts to accommodate a French Catholic society within an English Protestant empire. In pursuing this objective Carleton looked to the Canadien elite, the clergy and the land-holding seigneurs. He reasoned that, if he could win these groups over, they could, in turn, persuade the French-speaking masses, whom Carleton pigeonholed as a docile peasantry, to revere their British rulers. Carleton recognized that the British regime in northern North America faced potential threats: from a resurgent France; from the increasingly restive Anglo-American colonists to the south; and, of course, from the Canadiens themselves. With few British troops at his disposal, he would need to promote loyalty among the masses via the clerics and landlords from whom they supposedly took their cues.

This policy of accommodation was manifest in the Quebec Act. Introduced in 1774, this law courted powerful elements in Canadien society by affirming the Catholic Church's right to collect tithes and

perpetuating the seigneurial system. The act represents a watershed in British imperial history, for it reflected a shift away from heavy-handed assimilationism and toward subtler efforts to co-opt colonized powerbrokers. Predictably, it appealed to the colony's landholders and clergy, a number of whom steadfastly backed the British regime while Quebec was assailed by the Continental Army during the American Revolution. But the act was much less effective in winning over the masses, probably because it ensured that they would be required to pay seigneurial dues and ecclesiastical taxes *ad infinitum*. That the Quebec Act failed to diffuse loyalty across the colony can be seen in the Canadiens' tepid reaction to the American invasion, which revealed that they were far more autonomous than Carleton had assumed. Consequently, he grew disillusioned with this group and their capacity for bolstering the British regime.

In 1776, Carleton was both knighted for his defence of British interests in North America, but was also informed by metropolitan authorities that one of his subordinates, John Burgoyne, would be tasked with leading a strategically important assault on the American revolutionaries instead of himself. Dismayed by the latter decision, which stemmed from the perception that Carleton's response to the opening phases of the revolution had been insufficiently assertive, he tendered his resignation and returned to the British Isles, where he spent the next few years employed by the Commission of Public Accounts.

Carleton returned to North America in the early 1780s, when he was made responsible for evacuating tens of thousands of British Loyalists from New York at the end of the Revolutionary War. In what was perhaps the most fulfilling phase of Carleton's life he painstakingly arranged for the Loyalists to be dispatched to various parts of the British Empire, including modern-day Canada; and he urged officials who governed territories to which they were sent such as Nova Scotia's John Parr to furnish them with land and supplies.

In a bid to weaken their slave-owning former subjects during the Revolution, imperial officials adopted a policy of granting freedom to people who fled bondage and pledged to support Britain. Several thousand of these "Black Loyalists" were among the throngs of people for whom Carleton hoped to find new homes. His attempts to resettle Black Loyalists met with resistance from George Washington, who, in 1783, cited a provisional peace agreement from the previous year that obliged the British to leave American territory immediately, and to refrain from taking Americans' property, including their human property, with them. Carleton demurred, insisting that the Black Loyalists shed their enslaved status when they sided with Britain. Carleton added that breaking faith with them would violate "the Faith and honour of the [British] Nation," something he felt duty-bound to uphold "with People of all Colours and Conditions." Because of his promise that ex-slaveowners would be compensated for their

losses, Carleton succeeded in resettling roughly 3,000 Black Loyalists in Nova Scotia, where many of these individuals continued to experience acute racism.

In 1786, in recognition of his prodigious efforts on the Loyalists' behalf, Carleton was proclaimed Baron Dorchester and made Governor-in-Chief of British North America, a position he occupied for nearly a decade. Carleton's career came to an end in 1794, when, amid escalating tensions between the United States and Britain's Indigenous allies in the lower Great Lakes region, he informed a First Nations delegation that he anticipated war with the United States. The provocative remark was leaked to the American press, and Carleton was reprimanded by Henry Dundas, Britain's Home Secretary, for his indiscretion. Disappointed by what he interpreted as Britain's lukewarm support for its Indigenous allies, and deeply offended by Dundas's rebuke, Carleton asked to be "relieved of his governorship." He returned to the British Isles – for good this time – thereafter, dying near Maidenhead, England, in 1808.

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UNIACKE, RICHARD JOHN

Born: 1753, Castletownroche, Co. Cork

Died: 1830, Mount Uniacke, Nova Scotia

Author: Mark G. McGowan

The Uniacke family were privileged members of the Protestant Ascendancy in 18th century Ireland. Long departed from Roman Catholicism, the family were scions of the Church of Ireland and held several estates in County Cork. Richard Uniacke studied law in Dublin, and much to his father Norman's chagrin, engaged in popular politics, including support of Catholic emancipation. For reasons that are unclear, Richard suspended his legal studies and sought adventure in the American colonies, landing in Philadelphia in 1774. His new business partner was Swiss-born Moses Delesdernier, with whom he relocated to the Bay of Fundy, in present day New Brunswick, to establish a trading centre. There he married Delesdernier's twelve-year old daughter, in 1775, and together they had twelve children, six boys and six girls.

With the eruption of the American Revolution, Uniacke became entangled in the Eddy Rebellion, which attempted to seize Fort Cumberland, Nova Scotia, from the British. The attack failed and Uniacke was taken prisoner and transported to Halifax as a traitor. Serendipitously, some well-connected Irishmen in the city manage to free him and he returned to Dublin to complete his legal studies. In 1781, he returned to Halifax, and was called to the Nova Scotia bar. Haligonian memories, however, were long and he was remembered as a "lubbery insolent Irish rebel," a reputation that stuck to him, particularly as the colony filled with Loyalist refugees from the American Revolution, after the eventual British withdrawal from the Thirteen Colonies in 1784.

Undaunted, the Governor appointed this obviously talented legal mind as Solicitor-General for the colony in 1781, and Uniacke successfully stood for election to the Nova Scotia Legislative Assembly in 1783. In 1789, he led the pre-loyalist faction in the House and was elected speaker. Governor John Parr made him Advocate-General of the Vice-Admiralty Court, which would provide Uniacke with a steady and lucrative income. With the appointment of Loyalist Governor John Wentworth, Uniacke's fortunes temporary floundered, particularly his ambition to be Attorney General for the colony. In 1793, he took time away from the legislature, as he fought to save his reputation against the Loyalists, and build one of the most successful law practices in Nova Scotia. When positions in the judiciary and Governor's Council became available, Wentworth undercut Uniacke, explaining to the Under Secretary of the Colonies that "His conduct is dark and insidious, secretly connected with seditious purposes and giving advice against the service." The Duke of Portland, the Home Secretary, thought

otherwise and when the position of Attorney General became open again in 1797, Uniacke was promoted over Wentworth's two recommended Loyalist candidates. One of the failed candidates assaulted Uniacke publicly with his fists and another challenged him to a duel.

Buoyed by this appointment, which he held until his death in 1830, Uniacke began a flurry of activity. In 1798 he was returned to the Assembly for King's County and served as Speaker of the House from 1799 to his retirement in 1805. He compiled *Statutes Passed by the General Assembly held in Nova Scotia from 1758 to 1804 Inclusive* (1805), which became a standard guide for the preparation of bills in the Assembly for nearly fifty years. As a legislator, he defended the establishment of the Church of England in the colony as an upholder of the moral order. Nevertheless, true to his early life in Dublin, he also championed a growing movement for Catholic emancipation in the colony, although he opposed giving "dissenting clergy," particularly Presbyterians, further legal rights in the Province.

His most notable contribution to political life was his advocacy for free trade in the colonies, and his protest of Jay's Treaty (1794) which gave British preferences to American ports, over those in the Atlantic colonies. In 1805, he headed a delegation to Westminster and argued effectively that the creation of free ports in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick would be a boon for the colonies and enhance the transatlantic trade triangle between Britain, the West Indies, and British North America. In 1808, because of Uniacke's arguments, and the American embargo on British trade (Non-Intercourse Act), the ports of Saint John, Halifax, Shelburne, and eventually St. Andrews were declared custom-free ports, West Indian ports were given incentives to import fish from the Maritimes, and New England shippers could engage in illegal trade through Britain's colonies. For Uniacke, economic independence of the colonies was concomitant to the gradual political autonomy of the colonies.

His growing fears of what he considered the democratic excesses, and the moral decadence of the United States, prompted him to propose a union of all the British North American colonies. He considered such a political union as the best defence against American ambitions, political, military, or economic. In 1821, his conception of a "confederation," forty years before its time, won some traction among colonial leaders in the other colonies and was raised at Westminster. Although nothing came of the proposal, it is thought that a copy of his "Observations" may have landed in the hands of Lord Durham, the reform minded governor of the colonies in the late 1830s.

Uniacke's role on the Vice-Admiralty court earned him a percentage of the assessed booty brought to Halifax by privateers. In a three-year span during the War of 1812, Uniacke earned £50,000. With this money, he built the palatial Mount Uniacke on a 11,000-acre estate outside of Halifax, near Lake Martha. Completed in 1815, the estate was reminiscent of his family's "big house" in Ireland and was the focus of his family life. Uniacke was also active with the Charitable Irish Society, a philanthropic

ecumenical Irish club, which he helped to establish in 1786. Despite the rebel leanings of his youth, he was also Lieutenant Colonel of the 8th Battalion, Halifax militia. When he died at Mount Uniacke in 1830, Uniacke would be remembered as a great legal mind, skilled politician, and loyal public servant to his adopted Nova Scotia. Like his fellow Irishmen John Parr and Richard Bulkeley, Uniacke did much to advance Nova Scotia's development as a Province.

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WELLESLEY (WESLEY), ARTHUR, 1st DUKE OF WELLINGTON

Born: 1769, Dublin, Co. Dublin

Died: 1852, Kent

Author: Eamonn McKee

Arthur Wellesley and the Birth of Modern Canada

The Duke of Wellington wielded the most formative influence Canada of all the Anglo-Irish in Canada, yet never set foot here. Does he qualify for Fifty Irish Lives in Canada? Here is the case in favour.

Wellington's forebears, originally Cowleys, arrived from England around 1500. His grandfather Richard Colley changed his name to Wesley following an inheritance. Wellington adopted Wellesley from his mother's side. He was raised on their lands near Trim following his birth in Dublin.

Too much is made of Wellington's disdain for his Irish background. Most of his soldiers were Irish, he was a life-long member of his Masonic Lodge in Trim, and as Prime Minister he delivered Catholic Emancipation in the face of ferocious opposition from his own Tory party and the king.

The century's long titanic struggle between Britain and France for global supremacy had been fought in North America, Ireland, the Atlantic, the West Indies, the East Indies, the Mediterranean, and the Middle East. Denied the freedom of the seas by the Royal Navy, Napoleon sought a decisive advantage invading Russia. At this moment of peril, the US invaded Canada. In his outrage, Wellington had a vision for Canada. The lesson of the Napoleonic blockade was that supplies for the Royal Navy had to come from British North America. To prevent the Americans seizing Canada, Wellington embarked on strategy of fortification from the St Lawrence River to Halifax: canals to secure the movement of troops and supplies from Niagara to Montreal; settler soldiers for speedy mobilization in vulnerable southern Ontario; Halifax as a fortified harbour to defend the North Atlantic trade routes.

Wellington was uniquely placed to carry out his plan. As Master General of the Ordnance in 1818, Commander-in-Chief in 1827 and Prime Minister from 1828-1830, he had the authority to order British Army engineers and sappers to help build vital infrastructure. To finance his endeavours, and by a bizarre twist of history, the Admiralty had a treasure of Spanish silver beyond Parliamentary control. Without the need for Parliamentary approval or oversight, by 1818 Wellington was free to spend it in Canada building the Lachine, Rideau Canals.

The canals, along with some sixteen Martello towers and other fortifications, were primarily military in origin but had a catalytic effect on the economy's transport infrastructure. The Lachine Canal saved Montreal from the competition of the Eerie Canal. The Welland Canal remains a vital part of Canada's trade today. The Rideau Canal created Bytown, today Canada's capital city Ottawa.

All this work drew in thousands of Irish immigrants who joined their fellow countrymen in the booming lumber industry and Irish farmers settling on cheap available land. Many of Wellington's Irish soldiers, brought in to defend Canada in 1812, also settled in Ontario, helped by subsidies. Here lies the origin of Irish settlement patterns in Canada.

As Sweeny writes in his fascinating book on Mackay and the founding of Ottawa, the names of the men Wellington dispatched to Canada to realise his vision "resonate today in the names of hundreds of Canadian towns, cities, counties, streets, schools, and universities": Charles Lennox the Duke of Richmond, George Ramsay the Earl of Dalhousie, Sherbrooke, Aylmer, Kempt, Murray, Colborne, Bagot, Maitland, Lennox, Drummond, Cathcart, and Arthur. "They were all Wellington's men."

Like Canada, Ireland was shaped by British imperial interests. Fears that Ireland would be swept up in French Revolutionary fervour convinced London to abolish the Irish Parliament 1800 and to bind Ireland to Britain in the Act of Union 1800. Yet the same drive to bind Canada as an ally led it to succour that relationship, granting it responsible government in the 1840s and Confederation as the first Dominion of the Commonwealth in 1867. As Thomas D'Arcy McGee argued trenchantly, had Britain taken a similar tact with Ireland, our history would have been very different.

Canada's role as imperial bulwark threatened by a perfidious revolutionary America has faded in memory as the sun set on the British Empire and risen on American global hegemony. Yet this story has led me hear in Canada's national anthem the echoes of its colonial history: "True patriot love in all of us command, With glowing hearts we see thee rise, The True North strong and free! From far and wide, O Canada, we stand on guard for thee."

Wellington's strategic vision of Canada's value to Britain's global security was ultimately correct. Britain had beaten Spain as its chief global competitor in the 15th century. It had ultimately beaten France, its chief rival in the 18th and 19th centuries, first in North America on the Plains of Abraham outside Quebec and then decisively in Europe at Waterloo. Once the United States gave up its predatory intentions toward Canada, it was a key diplomatic and trading partner with the UK, part of an Anglophone Atlantic sphere of influence. The support of North America as a whole proved decisive in the defeat of Britain's chief 20th century rival, Germany, in two world wars. What Wellington could not have anticipated was that his own chief rival in America, the United States, would

by the mid-twentieth century eclipse the British Empire. To this day, Canada is a vital partner in NATO and the transatlantic partnership with the US and UK.

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BENNETT, STANDISH O'GRADY

(Standish O'Grady)

Born: 1776, Ireland

Died: 1846, Lower Canada

Author: Michele Holmgren

Standish O'Grady's anti-immigration poem *The Emigrant* (1841) was not unique. Susannah Moodie's *Roughing it in the Bush* was a response to 1830s emigration manuals that downplayed the hardships faced by "persons of respectable connections" in Canada. While O'Grady protested that he was "not an enemy to emigration," he advised "those of a higher order" to "never venture to this side the Atlantic;" or if driven to emigrate, settle in Upper Canada and leave Lower Canada to the French.

Biographers have found O'Grady an elusive figure. Mary Jane Edwards suggests that he was born in 1789 or 1790, graduated from Trinity College Dublin in 1810, then served as a Church of Ireland priest until the "tithe wars" forced him to emigrate in 1836. But these dates contradict O'Grady's own claim that he was a classmate of Robert Emmet, placing O'Grady at Trinity in the late 1790s. Brian Trehearne argues that "Standish O'Grady" was the pseudonym for a Standish Bennett listed in the *Alumni Dublinenses*. Many details of Bennett's life are reflected in the poem, which celebrates the aristocratic O'Grady family in Co. Cork. Other documents from Trinity and elsewhere suggest that he used the name Standish O'Grady Bennett throughout his life, including on a petition arguing for Catholic franchise, a list of titheholders seeking relief from the government in the 1830s, and Cork and Toronto obituaries. Born in time to witness the United Irishmen Revolution of 1798 and the Act of Union in 1801, the poet describes how agrarian resistance organizations and tithe reform drove him out of Ireland. Whether he left as a middle-aged clergyman or as an elderly gentleman equally dependent on the impropriation of tithes, he was pathetically unprepared for life in Lower Canada.

While set in Lower Canada, the poem is preoccupied with the Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland in 1801. In 1798 "Standish O'Grady Bennett" had signed the "Resolutions of the Independent Scholars and Students of Trinity College" stating their support for "the cause of LOYALTY AND THE CONSTITUTION" in response to a supposedly seditious pamphlet distributed throughout the college. While the poet of *The Emigrant* later grudgingly concedes the necessity for the Act, made when Britain's "Irish subjects [were] for the most part in a state of heartless rebellion," he had no time for the Union's chief architect, John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare. Clare had previously overseen a college inquisition that terrified the young poet Thomas Moore, expelled Robert Emmet, and likely disgusted

Standish Bennett. Not surprisingly, Clare, the poem's "modern Nero of the state," gets more blame than the followers of Captain Rock for burning O'Grady's life to the ground.

The 1801 Union functions as a dividing line in *The Emigrant*. It ended the "the good old times" that the poet portrays as a Burkean paradise. The prescribed customs linking old Irish aristocrats to their peers and their tenants in "a sacred trust, by obligations bound" are scattered in its wake, ushering in a distantly-governed and corrupt society in which "the rude peasant" and Irish tithe holders flee neglect and the violence of Captain Rock.

The poem also vividly depicts emigrants alternately experiencing the brief calms of the sea voyage and the terrors of ocean storms. On embarkation in Quebec, the speaker describes the equally brief summer pleasures enjoyed by the English community in Sorel, followed by the tempest of revolution in the winter. (O'Grady claims to have heard the alarm bells rung during the attack by Papineau's forces, and to have seen a haggard Papineau in Sorel just before he fled to the States.) After narrating the sad fate of Sylvia, a widowed and starving Irish gentlewoman, the poem concludes with a winter storm:

The sheltered squirrel from his attic height,
Now headlong falls, and fears the storm's might!
His well-wrought store, his wintry feast he sees
Dispersed aloft and wafted by the breeze;
His house a ruin, all its inmates cast
Outstretched in famine...

As fare squirrels, so fare emigrants; the speaker contemplates eating the frozen corpses of his farm animals at winter's conclusion and warns: "Let Erin pause, and well reflect in time,...ere her sons seek transatlantic clime."

In *The Emigrant*, even the epic cannot fully contain the poet's experience or his conflicting impulses. He declares loyalty to Britain while deploring its treatment of Ireland, which he views as a kingdom deserving its own parliament. He extols British progress, settlement, and government in North America while cataloging the defeats and suffering of Irish immigrants, both rich and poor. He eulogizes Robert Emmet while condemning Papineau. The footnotes contain multitudes: comic sketches and ditties; a translation from the Irish by the philologist Theophilus O'Flanagan; biographies of famous Uilleann pipers; sea shanties and patriotic ballads composed by O'Grady. Taken as a whole, this strange miscellany of verse and anecdote attempts to reconstitute in writing the rich and distinct

folkways of Irish peasantry and gentry. While the poem lampoons Daniel O'Connell and his parliamentary supporters, its paratext nevertheless suggests a vision of cultural identity distinct from England: one with the potential to transcend class and sectarian divisions.

Canadian newspapers reviewed the poem and chronicled O'Grady's increasingly desperate progress from Sorel to Toronto. In 1843, the Montreal Transcript identified him as instrumental in brokering a truce between feuding Cork and Connaught labourers on the Lachine Canal. In 1845, an Essex County paper published a charitable appeal for a "distressed gentleman," namely "poor old O'Grady, the poet," who was fast "descending in sorrow to the grave." (In quoting this appeal, The Examiner unkindly suggested that another poetaster, the famously-dissipated "Sir" John Smith, was more worthy of patronage.) Newspapers in Toronto and Cork carried the obituary of a Standish O'Grady Bennett from Tankerville who died in 1846, aged 70, after "a painful and protracted illness." In imagining Irish migrants dying with "scarce...a pound to purchase death's last need," The Emigrant was sadly prophetic.

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O'GRADY, WILLIAM J.

Born: [Date Unknown], Cork

Died: 1840, Pickering, Upper Canada

Author: Laura J. Smith

A Roman Catholic priest, church builder, government sycophant, newspaper editor, and radical reformer, William J. O'Grady covered a lot of ground in the twelve years he spent in Canada. O'Grady's origins are obscure. He was likely from Cork, where he was vicar at the Roman Catholic Cathedral of St. Mary and St. Anne in Cork city from at least 1818. Later his enemies in Upper Canada suggested he had been run out of the parish after a church fire. Local history confirms that the church was destroyed by arson, sparked by a "controversial" sermon O'Grady preached on Corpus Christi Sunday in 1820. But the truth was a little more mundane than the legend; fiery sermon or not, he remained in the parish until July 1827, when he joined as chaplain, William Cotter's ill-fated emigration of approximately 2500 Cork men, women, and children to Brazil.

The Irish had expected to be settlers in Brazil, with limited militia responsibilities in exchange for 50 acres of land, but upon arrival found they were expected to join the Imperial Brazilian Army. This betrayal, and the horrific living conditions to which they were subjected, led the Irish, along with a regiment of Germans, to mutiny in several days of violence. The episode concluded when the British embassy intervened, at O'Grady's insistence, and the Irish were dispersed. Some chose to remain in South America, others returned to Ireland, and about 500 went to New Brunswick. An unknown number of the "Brazilian Irish" went to Upper Canada, including the Rev. O'Grady, his brother Captain John O'Grady, John's wife Ann and their children, as well as Colonel Connell James Baldwin.

O'Grady came to the attention of Roman Catholic Bishop Alexander Macdonell in the summer of 1828 when he surfaced in York (now Toronto). To Macdonell, whose diocese was cash-strapped, short on priests, and rapidly filling with Irish, O'Grady appeared to be sent directly from heaven. O'Grady settled in quickly at St. Paul's parish. He was an effective, competent, and enthusiastic pastor. He built a parochial school, steered church building projects throughout the hinterland, and quickly ingratiated himself with the colonial elite who inhabited the provincial capital. The reform proclivities O'Grady displayed in his post-clerical life, were not on display during his tenure as pastor of St. Paul's. He enjoyed a remarkably close and fruitful relationship with Lieutenant Governor John Colborne. Bishop Macdonell was so delighted with O'Grady's success at promoting Catholic interests within the elite circles of York, that he promoted him to Vicar General.

O'Grady and the staunchly "Tory" Macdonell appeared firmly in political sync. In the spring of 1832, they collaborated on a public declaration of loyalty to the embattled Colborne. The declaration, written by O'Grady, and signed by 100 York Catholics, expressed gratitude for the blessings of civil and religious liberty, affection for the King, asserted Catholic support for the Lieutenant Governor, and condemned the increasingly popular political agitation of William Lyon Mackenzie and the reform movement.

Not long after a series of disagreements soured the relationship between the bishop and his priest. In the summer of 1832, Macdonell ordered him to relocate to Prescott. O'Grady refused and sparked a parish schism that lasted years and caused Macdonell considerable embarrassment. O'Grady's resistance to Macdonell's authority was extreme and painfully public. He appealed first to the Lieutenant Governor, then to the King, and eventually travelled to Rome in a futile attempt to appeal to the Pope. Whether Macdonell excommunicated O'Grady is still a matter of debate, but the episode put an end to O'Grady's clerical career.

While still in dispute with Macdonell, O'Grady took over *The Canadian Correspondent* newspaper. Whether he had always harboured reform tendencies or was spurred to that camp by his conflict with the bishop, William O'Grady, now known as "Dr.", was by the mid 1830s, Upper Canada's most visible Irish reformer, and his newspaper, which merged with Mackenzie's *Colonial Advocate* in 1834, was an influential reform broadsheet with a sizeable circulation throughout British North America and the northern United States.

The Correspondent stood for radical reform. It argued that all legitimate power came from the people and that loyalty to the government could only be secured once the rights of the people were secure. It drew on Irish content to connect the concerns of Irish Catholics with the platform of the Canadian reform movement. In the pages of the *Correspondent*, Irish Catholics saw the colonial government's funding of their clergy connected to the movement against state-sponsored pensions for the Catholic clergy in Ireland; the alarmingly rapid rise of the Upper Canadian Orange Order linked to sectarian violence in Ireland; and their status as British subjects with particular rights under the Quebec Act linked to Daniel O'Connell's agitation for Catholic rights throughout the British Empire.

Despite his popularity as a priest, and his success as an editor, success in politics eluded O'Grady. He was first to run on a reform ticket, but lost to the incumbent, in the staunchly Tory constituency of Kingston in the 1834 provincial election.

In 1835, he was a star witness during Mackenzie's "grievances trials" which sought to expose government corruption and excess and used the public platform to accuse Bishop Macdonell of mishandling government funds meant to support his clergy.

For the next two years, O'Grady was at the forefront of radical reform in Upper Canada. He travelled with Mackenzie to meet their counterparts in Lower Canada, which led to the creation of political unions, and was on the executive of the Constitutional Reform Society. But strangely and rather abruptly, his political activities ceased in November 1837. He sold his newspaper and retired quickly and quietly to Pickering Township. He did not take part in the ill-fated Upper Canadian rebellion the following month and may have supplied the government with information during the raids that followed. His remaining years appear to have been spent quietly, and his death in 1840 was attributed to a "visitation of God."

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BISHOP FLEMING, MICHAEL ANTHONY

Born: 1792, Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary

Died: 14 July 1850, St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador

Author: Eamonn McKee

The monumental Basilica of St John's, the Taj Mahal of the Irish in Canada, is the legacy of Bishop Michael Fleming. Son of a tenant farmer in Kilkenny, Fleming was educated and ordained in Wexford at a time of growing Catholic mobilization. Fleming modelled his episcopal leadership in Newfoundland on Daniel O'Connell's campaign for Catholic emancipation and the Catholic Church's Ultramontanistism. He transformed the Irish Catholic community, colonial politics, and Newfoundland itself in a lasting way.

From the 1680s Irish fishermen had joined in the annual migratory cod fishery to Newfoundland, the only place outside of Ireland bearing an Irish name, Talamh an Éisce, land of the fish. The resident Irish Catholic population grew in parallel with its English Protestant counterpart. With Newfoundland under the Penal Laws, each occupied different ends of the socio-economic scale.

Arriving in 1823, Fleming found Newfoundland grimly familiar: a comfortable mercantile Anglican elite led by the Crown-appointed Governor that discriminated, disenfranchised, and marginalized the Catholic Irish from all offices of influence. Lives were brutally hard fishing, seal hunting, or scrimping a living from smallholdings Catholics were debarred from owning. When a smallpox epidemic broke out in Petty Harbour in the winter of 1835-36, Fleming lived with the poor, tended to their sick, and built a church. That was what he had done everywhere he travelled, leaving a trail of churches and newfound pride in his wake.

Fleming treated Newfoundland as if it were Ireland and determined to reverse Catholic humiliation and poverty. On trips home, he recruited 36 priests, forged like him in O'Connell's Ireland of politically mobilized Catholics. Fleming opened a school for young girls in 1833 run by Presentation Sisters from Galway. The Sisters of Mercy from Dublin established a girls' school for the small Irish middle-class, while Franciscans were brought to teach boys. For Fleming, the students were future leaders.

Pastoral work paralleled fearless engagement in politics. O'Connellite mobilization, fundraising, boycotts, and even excommunications were deployed. Support was offered to Liberal candidates who endorsed Fleming's agenda. Governor Thomas Cochrane and a handful of 'respectable' Irish Catholics (dubbed "Mad Dogs") resisted, prompting sectarian tensions and, on occasion, riots. By 1832 Fleming

and his reformers had won Catholic Emancipation. Formidable Catholic voter support for the Liberal Party, and state funding for Catholic schools soon followed.

Crown vexations over this 'troublesome priest' led to protests to Rome. In response, Fleming cultivated the cardinals. Through St. Isidore's Irish Franciscan College in Rome, he sent them smoked Newfoundland salmon. He visited the Holy See and in 1837 submitted his report, *Relazione*, an impressive account of his travels and pastoral work along with counter-allegations of persecution by the colonial authorities. By 1840, fresh complaints from Newfoundland's new governor, Henry Prescott, prompted Foreign Secretary Lord John Russell to ask Rome to remove Fleming. Rome summoned Fleming. The bishop ignored it. When British mandarins let Fleming see the secret inflammatory correspondence of Prescott, it was Prescott who packed his bags.

A factor in Fleming's strong position was his ambitious cathedral. In *Relazione*, Fleming cleverly alluded to obstacles put in his way to securing land for this project, five years of "vexation and annoyance". By 1838 Fleming had secured the Barrens, formerly site of the garrison overlooking St Johns, informally a location of Irish faction-fights and hurling matches. He put his formidable organizational and fundraising skills into top gear. Small donations from low-income Catholics and some sizeable ones from the wealthy, including Protestants, flowed. The larger Newfoundland community marshalled as a workforce, cutting timber and fencing land. In two days during May 1839, thousands of men, women, and children excavated over 4,250 tonnes of soil, women hauling it away in their aprons.

Construction of the cathedral took fourteen years and 35,000 tons of granite. In wintertime, up to his waist in water on the beach at Kelly's Island in Conception Bay, Newfoundland, Fleming loaded cut stone into small boats for transport to the building site. Limestone from Galway was used on exterior walls, and granite from Dublin was used for the quoins, mouldings and window frames. Five

times he scoured Europe for materials. By 1847 he was too ill to travel. Financial setbacks and a great fire in St John's the previous year did not deter him, even as the fire consumed his papers. Frail and failing with tuberculosis, Fleming whispered the first mass within the cathedral in January 1850, its chill cavernous shell a glimpse of future grandeur beyond the dust, scaffolding and exposed rafters. He knelt in prayer, occasionally helped, but finished the Mass. That was his last public rite. He was sequestered until July when he died and was interred in his cathedral's vault.

The cathedral, finished by Fleming's successor Bishop John Mullock of Limerick, was a triumph of Ultramontanist and neoclassicism, embellished with statues by the best Irish artists. Fleming's cathedral was the largest architectural and cultural achievement of Ireland's pre-Famine diaspora, a

statement of faith in the future. At its consecration in 1855, Archbishop John Hughes of New York left determined that his city should have a cathedral to match the achievement of Newfoundland's poor fishermen.

Fleming's achievements were extraordinary. Fired by injustice and inspired by his hero O'Connell, he used his determination, guile and talents to advance the status of Newfoundland's Catholic Irish. In the Franciscan tradition, he eschewed the fine living and clothes customary of many bishops. Fleming devoted his life to the young and the poor through the provision of opportunity and pride. His cathedral (named Minor Basilica in 1955) was designed to instil that pride, its grandeur hardly out of place had it been built in Rome itself. Just as enduring was Fleming's political legacy which forged the politics of his Irish community and of the island, orienting Newfoundland away from Canada and towards Ireland and Europe. If Fleming had had his way, Newfoundland might well have become Ireland's fifth province. Newfoundland only officially joined Canada in 1949.

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JAMESON, ANNA BROWNELL MURPHY

Born: 1794, Dublin, Co. Dublin

Died: 1860, London

Author: Laura Smith

Anna Brownell Murphy Jameson was an unwilling first-time visitor to Canada in 1836. The Irish-born travel writer, art historian, feminist, and literary critic was married to Robert Sympson Jameson who was appointed attorney general to Upper Canada (now Ontario) in 1833. Jameson was building a house and pressed his wife to join him. Anna, who had for some time believed her marriage was over, resisted at first, but finally relented in 1836. Her short stay in Upper Canada would produce a remarkable piece of writing, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*.

Anna was born in Dublin in 1794. Her English-born mother's name has not survived, but we know that her father Denis Brownell Murphy was a portrait artist who specialized in miniatures and enjoyed the patronage of Queen Charlotte in the 1770s. His biographers describe him as a "patriot" and suggest he was sympathetic, if not active, in the United Irishmen. His departure from Ireland in April 1798, just before the outbreak of rebellion, was likely no coincidence. The family moved around northern England as Murphy cobbled together a modest income. He was appointed as "painter-in-ordinary" to Princess Charlotte in 1810, giving the family some temporary stability until the princess's death in 1817.

Anna was a precocious child who excelled academically and was adept at learning languages. From her father she learned to sketch and paint, skills she carried over into her literary career. Her abilities and ambition meant she took an early responsibility for her family's precarious finances. From the age of sixteen, she worked as a governess for aristocratic families, which gave her the means and opportunity to travel, widened her social circle, and provided her with source material for her writing.

In 1825 she married Robert Sympson Jameson, an English barrister. In 1829 he was appointed chief justice of Dominica where he spent four productive but lonely years. Rather than accompany her husband to the Caribbean, Anna continued to build her career (her first travel book had been published in 1826 to modest success) while touring the continent. She counted numerous literary figures as her friends and began to be known for her advocacy for the rights and education of women. Jameson was supportive of his wife's career, but once he was appointed to Upper Canada, he believed that his career and respectability required his wife at his side. For Anna's part, her independent income

was still not sufficient to support her dependent family and as such she required her husband's good will and financial support. She relented and arrived in Toronto in December 1836.

Written as part fragmentary letters to a friend, part confessional journal, part academic thesis, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* begins with her arrival in Toronto and follows its author through the boredom and despair of her first (and only) Canadian winter. With the arrival of spring, the text accompanies Anna on her two month "summer rambles" tour of the colony starting in Niagara proceeding southwest through the settlements of the London district to Detroit before going north to Michilimackinac, Sault Ste Marie, and Manitoulin Island.

Her husband's position meant that the book contains no explicit discussion of colonial politics, and only occasional allusions to the conflicts that were, by the mid-1830s, turning the colony into a political powder keg. But Anna did not shy away from disparaging the social backwater that was Toronto, opining on the defects in the colony's governance, and detailing the issues endemic in the province. Ever the literacy advocate, she argued that the colony's troubles might be solved if books were as cheap and as plentiful as whisky.

Its European inhabitants had only a hazy knowledge of the history of the place, and no real affection or loyalty for their newly adopted home. Their ignorance and vulgarity were matched only by their prosperity amidst the abundant resources and fertile land to which they had easy access. That these Europeans from the lowliest labourer to the officials in the colonial government, were overwhelmingly Irish, went unmentioned on unfortunately, though Anna did delight in the presence of other "Old English" with whom she could relate, upon her visit to Niagara.

Amidst all the good fortune on display in the colony, Indigenous people were highly visible and active, though deriving few benefits from European settlement. Though she used phrases such as "fated race" and anticipated their eventual demise, Anna delighted in the company of the Indigenous people she met and was fascinated by their history and customs.

Winter Studies and Summer Rambles was well-received upon publication, though less so amongst the Upper Canadian elite of which her estranged husband, now vice-chancellor, remained a part. The work drew some criticism for its overt comparisons between the plight of European and Indigenous women in the colony and the suggestion that the latter held a more honoured and easier place in their respective society. Anna had long engaged implicitly with the "woman question" in her work, but for some critics this comparison went too far.

Winter Studies and Summer Rambles has been reprinted countless times since its publication nearly 200 years ago and has been the subject of numerous scholarly analyses. It has been hailed as an

important work of early feminism, travel writing, and of epistolary literature. For twenty-first century Canadians the book is a remarkable glimpse of a virtually unrecognizable Ontario covered in dark, forbidding forests, impassable unhealthy swamps, criss-crossed by blazed trails and ineffective corduroy roads. Not only did Anna capture this world with words, but she produced some 40 sketches of her experiences, the places she visited, and the people she met. Unfortunately, these images have never been published with her text, but survive in the archives of the Royal Ontario Museum and the Toronto Public Library.

Anna Brownell Murphy Jameson never returned to Canada nor to her husband. She spent her remaining decades publishing works of art history. She died in London in 1860.

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**BARNES, ELIZABETH
née Martin**

The Witch of Plum Hollow

Born: 1800, Cavan, Ireland

Died: 1891, Ontario, Canada

Author: Eamonn McKee

For a woman to earn the moniker ‘Mother Barnes, the Witch of Plum Hollow’, some mystery must surround her. Elizabeth Barnes earned a reputation as a fortune-teller and finder of lost objects that spread far beyond the farming district near Brockville on the St Lawrence River where she lived in frugality. Claims that she was the seventh daughter of the seventh daughter were said to explain her powers. While that helped affirm her powers for some, her fame and earnings during her active decades were generated by satisfied customers in a remarkable display of economic agency by an immigrant single mother.

Born in 1800 in County Cavan to a landlord and British Army colonel and a mother said to be of Spanish descent, Elizabeth Martin was a strikingly beautiful young child. Admirably wilful too, when faced an arranged marriage to an older man, Elizabeth eloped with a young soldier, Robert Harrison, to the United States in 1814. They settled in Coburg, Canada, but Robert died a few years after the birth of their son Robert Junior.

In 1831, Elizabeth married David Barnes, a cobbler from Connecticut. Six sons were born, four of whom would survive childhood, and three daughters. By 1843, they had settled on a farm in Sheldon’s Corners, Ontario, a hub of United Empire Loyalists. David eventually left the family home and moved to Smiths Falls with the youngest son, David Jr, reuniting there with an older child, Sam, (later reeve and Mayor).

Elizabeth began to monetise her reputation as a soothsayer to make ends meet, receiving clients in her tiny cottage for 25 cents. A young journalist dubbed her the Witch of Plum Hollow, a nearby location. Kindly and slight of frame, with penetrating pale eyes and wearing a black dress and shawl, she swirled tea leaves to divine answers to her clients’ concerns. Some were unnerved by her penetrating assessments of them. Whatever transacted between her and those motivated by curiosity or desperation to see her, word-of-mouth ensured her fame, even across the border in the U.S.

The situation was ripe with story-telling potential. To a young lawyer she predicted that the capital of a future Canada would be Ottawa and apparently promised him fame as its leader. This was the future

Prime Minister John A. Macdonald. She was said to possess great powers to recover lost objects. It was said too that she identified the location of the remains of Morgan Duxtader as well as his murderer, cousin Edgar Harter who was convicted and hanged in Brockville. From lost sheep and horses, to marriage prospects, Mother Barnes had an uncanny ability to impress her clients and they the capacity to fulfil her predictions.

Some scepticism and closer inspection suggests that willing assumptions about her powers trumped mundane explanations. By the time of John A. Macdonald's consultation, he was the coming man in the Conservative Party and Confederation on the horizon. Ottawa was speculated as the new capital, duly announced in December 1857. Elizabeth had a life-time of experience to bring to her assessments of marriage prospects as young lovers opened their hearts to her wise counsel. As for the remains of murder victims and lost or stolen livestock, she no doubt knew the local gossip as intimately as anyone and probably more so. Some stories suggest that Mother Barnes was capable of crime solving and restoration of lost property and social harmony. If the gullible or curious were prepared to pay the 25 cents, they got their monies worth not through magic but wisdom and experience. Mother Barnes role as local wise woman would no doubt have been of help to the many Irish streaming into the area during and after the Famine, notably the tenantry of the Coollattin Estate arriving in numbers in Smiths Falls.

Elizabeth amassed no fortune but used her earnings to support her family and some orphans. Seven children, forty-seven grandchildren and fourteen great-grandchildren were there to mourn her death. She was buried in an unmarked grave in Sheldon's Corners Cemetery.

In former times, the label witch could have had dire consequences. By the mid-19th century, the balance had swung toward toleration. Yet from séances to automatic writing, from 'scientific' experiments to photography, Victorians seemed as fixated on the occult as they were on science and progress. Against the backdrop of popular fiction by Arthur Conan Doyle and Bram Stoker, Elizabeth's fame owed as much to this Victorian Gothic sensibility as her predictive abilities.

Yet her real success was survival against daunting odds, marketing and monetizing her hard-won expertise. Two years before her death, she chuckled to a journalist that "I'm a bit of a fraud." By then her record and repute were unassailable. On her death in 1891, The Ottawa Free Press respectfully and more accurately mourned her passing as The Wise Woman of Plum Hollow, noting that she had become an institution in her lifetime. Her reputation was burnished in 1892 when a local writer, Thaddeus Leavitt, published his short novel, The Witch of Plum Hollow. Mother Barnes' enduring fame encouraged some locals to erect a headstone at the Cemetery. Today, her cottage can be seen

from the road that bears her name. It has been restored from near destruction. Its small scale defies belief that it functioned as a home for Elizabeth and her many dependents.

Mother Barnes managed to achieve some economic agency in the only way she knew how. More typical was Eliza Grimason, born Elizabeth Jane Deacon in (Northern) Ireland, who successfully ran her deceased husband's Royal Tavern in Kingston. Less typical, and with a whiff of scandal, she was from an early stage a close confidante of John A. Macdonald. Her political support for him increased as her wealth grew.

Both women represent countless other women who wielded influence unseen in the pages of history. Most were denied remembrance, their lives of hard work, caring, intergenerational childrearing, agency, and resilience forgotten or dismissed. Even those women who achieved distinction were far less likely to feature in the histories of Canada than men who achieved less. Albeit in folklore and in the modest remains of her cottage, Mother Barnes scored another distinctive success in the mere fact that she and her life are remembered today. That in its own way was a bit of magic.

Further reading

[The Witch of Plum Hollow « arlene stafford wilson \(wordpress.com\)](#)

GOWAN, OGLE ROBERT

Born: 1803, Mt. Nebo, Wexford

Died: 1876, Toronto

Author: Mark G. McGowan

On November 12, 1838, an army of 250 members of the Hunter's Lodge, a secret society of Canadian and American republicans, landed at Windmill Point near Prescott Ontario, with the intention of liberating Canada from British colonialism. For the next four days they were met by British regular troops of the 83rd Dublin Regiment, the Royal Marines, and the Canadian Militia consisting of local Irish Catholics, some descendants of the United Empire Loyalists, and scions of the Loyal Orange Lodge. It was the Grand Master of the LOL, Lieutenant Colonel Ogle Gowan, of the 9th Provisionals, who led a reckless charge against the Hunters. He found himself impaled in the buttocks by one of his men's bayonets, but his troops prevailed. After four days fighting, 50 Hunters were killed and 160 captured. Gowan was cited for bravery and the Orangemen had proven their loyalty to Crown and colony. The sight of the Grand Master of the LOL allied with Catholics and Tories at this fateful battle recalls that the Irish in the colonies defied stereotypes often applied to them by their contemporaries and historians.

Born in Mount Nebo, County Wexford, Ogle Gowan was the illegitimate and sixth son of John Hunter Gowan, the notorious leader of the Wexford Yeomanry, the "Black Mob", that terrorized and murdered suspected republicans and Catholics in Wexford and south Wicklow during the Rebellion of 1798. Ogle was named after George Ogle, his godfather and former grandmaster of the Orange Order. Young Ogle was initiated into the Order in 1818, and when the Order was disbanded in Ireland, he dedicated himself to its successor the Benevolent & Religious Orange Institution, particularly its charitable aims. In 1825, he penned an apology and history of the Order titled, *The Annals and Defence of the Loyal Orange Institute of Ireland*. Gowan did not repress his anti-Catholic attitudes, which may have caused him to leave Ireland and emigrate to Canada in 1829. Writing shortly after his arrival in Leeds County, Upper Canada, he told a colleague: "the passage of the Popish Ascendancy Bile & Protestant Degradation Act [Catholic Relief Act], in 1829, drove me from my native and beloved country."

He began his new life in Canada as a farmer outside of Brockville in Leeds County. Gowan's most memorable accomplishment, however, was his founding of the Loyal Orange Order's "Grand Lodge of British North America," in 1830. The Order had existed in a patchy fashion in the colonies, usually exported from Ireland by means of military personnel. The new Grand Lodge gathered up these

strands, used Brockville as a command centre, and began both its political mission and fraternal benevolent activities. The Order would become the largest Protestant male fraternal organization, with Lodges in every colony. By 1850 the Order would have nearly 70,000 members in Canada. Gowan was able to use the Order to flex his muscle in the public square, advocating Protestant rights, and loyalty to the Crown.

Gowan also quickly established himself as a journalist and publisher of the *Brockville Sentinel* (later the *Antidote*), in which he defended the rights of Irish immigrants and advocated for Irish advancement beyond being “hewers of wood and drawers of water” for the colonial elite. With his newspapers as his mouthpiece for loyalty to the Crown but disdain for Tory political elites, Gowan entered provincial politics. In 1834 and 1835 he was elected to the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, where he was allied with conservative ministerial forces in the House, but remained opposed to the Family Compact of politicians who directed the colony. His elections were often marred by violence, wherein members of the Order would coerce voters to support Gowan and his allies. In 1836, however, Gowan and the Order formed an unofficial alliance with Bishop Alexander Macdonell, a canny highlander with strong ties to the Crown. Macdonell had been chaplain to the Glengarry Fencibles, a Catholic Regiment sent from Scotland to Wexford to put down the 1798 rebellion. Gowan evidently placed their shared loyalty to the Crown ahead of sectarian interests. In what became known as the “Loyalty Election” the Gowan-Macdonell alliance secured victory for Lieutenant Governor Francis Bond-Head’s supporters in the Assembly, defeating the radical reformers of William Lyon Mackenzie. When Lord Durham visited Canada after the failed MacKenzie Rebellion of 1837, he noted that Orange Lodges drank hearty toasts to the Catholic Bishop! When the rebels returned to Windmill Point with their American allies, once again Gowan and his militia, allied with local Catholics, to beat back the republican invaders.

Re-elected to the Canadian Assembly in 1844, Gowan allied himself with the Liberal-Conservatives under John A. Macdonald and William Henry Draper. Although, one of the Assembly’s most eloquent speakers, his political fortunes waned, and he was repeatedly defeated in elections in 1848 and 1851. With the death of his first wife Frances Turner, in 1852, he moved to Toronto and was elected Alderman in both 1853 and 1854. All the while he struggled to regain control of the Orange Order after having been defeated in his re-election as Grand Master in 1846. His reemergence as Grand Master in 1853 caused a schism in the Order which was only healed by his resignation in 1856. One of the accusations thrown against him, as stated by his biographer, Hereward Senior, was that he pandered too much to Catholic voters—an irony given his early life in Wexford. His lessening sectarianism became evident in 1858, when during a riot at the Catholic St. Patrick’s Day dinner, in Toronto, he left his own Protestant celebration at another hotel and helped rescue the Catholic

wounded. His final electoral victory was in 1858, in his beloved North Leeds. In addition to his political activities, he was able to pen *Orangeism: Its Origins and History*, in 1859. No doubt, his work helped cement his title “the Father of Orangeism in British America.”

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RITCHIE, SARAH “MOTHER MCGINTY”

Born: 1803 Monaghan, Co

Died: between 1850 & 1856, Iowa

Author: Grant Vogl

From the earliest days of Bytown, the settlement had been a bustling row of taverns, inns, and brothels. These trades catered well to the largely seasonal workforce of lumbermen and canal navvies in Bytown. As early of 1832, Bytown had nine licensed drinking establishments. Perhaps more telling were the innumerable illegal operations, private stills, and shebeens, many selling raw white potato or mash whiskey known as poitín (or more colloquially, “Mountain Dew”), needed to slake the thirst of the labourers.

It was during this turbulent period that one of Bytown’s most beloved, near mythical characters, Sarah “Mother McGinty” Ritchie, emerged. Though difficult to separate fact from fiction, Mother McGinty undoubtedly shaped the emerging community of Bytown. Sarah Ritchie was born in County Monaghan, Ireland about 1803 and became a somewhat legendary figure in early Bytown, specifically among the navvies (inland navigators) of Corktown along the works of the Rideau Canal. Family history recounts that Sarah was born into a well-to-do Protestant family and at an early age, fell in love with the family’s Catholic stable hand John McGinty (b.1799). The couple appear to have eloped to New York in about 1823. Later records indicate that John and Sarah’s first child Ann was born in Fort Edward, New York, in 1823, so their flight from Ireland may have been an effort to avoid the stigma of a child born out of wedlock, as well as their interfaith relationship.

The great canal building boom of the 1800s saw thousands of labourers flood worksites across North America, the vast majority of whom were Irish. Looking to cater on their countrymen’s need for victuals, Sarah and John established a makeshift tavern on the Erie Canal works through 1823 and 1824. John worked long days as a navvy, leaving Sarah to fend for herself and her children and operate the tavern. Once the works were completed in 1825, and their itinerant customer base began to move on, Sarah and John relocated to the Canadas. They were married at Lochiel Parish, Glengarry County, Ontario, on October 14, 1824. John would again find work on the canal works of Lt-Colonel John By, whose military water route would link Bytown and Kingston, while Sarah would do what she did best, cater to the navvies.

In Corktown, a shanty settlement of Irish navvies built up along the Deep Cut of the Rideau Canal (above the Ottawa Locks near today’s Laurier Avenue Bridge), Mother McGinty, as Sarah came to be known, ruled. Armed with a winning smile, she was known as a formidable matron who could more

than hold her own against unruly patrons under the influence of the bottle. She was reputed to have swung her right hook with great potency, all the while ensuring that the beer, shrub (citrus juice, sugar, vinegar, and rum) and poitín flowed freely. McGinty, who catered to often cash-poor labourers, kept track of her patrons' tallies on a chalkboard behind the bar. Woe to the unfortunate patron who did not pay his tab! McGinty's establishment may have been stocked with liquor from Bytown's first licensed distiller, Irish-born Ralph Smith, but she is also likely to have slung whatever was available, legal or otherwise. Though widely adored by the labourers, she was not universally loved. Father Patrick Horan, an early Catholic priest in Bytown, was known for berating her, which on one occasion, witnessed her leaping through the tavern window to avoid his diatribes. Ironically, Horan himself was removed from the priesthood in 1829 for his own erratic, alcohol-fueled behaviour, and the unsanctioned selling of church lands for his own monetary gain.

During its first twenty-three-years, Bytown, the backwater timber depot and work camp that would become Canada's capital, had a reputation as the most violent settlement in British North America. In the absence of civil authority, Lt.-Colonel By mobilized a Corps of the Royal Sappers and Miners in 1827 "[to] check the disorderly conduct of the labourers." Fuelling this violence, in part, were faction fighting and alcohol. However, most early conflicts were also caused as much by primitive living conditions, dangerous work environments, isolation from family, and heavy-handed authorities as they were by ethnic or religious tensions, or alcohol. In many instances, disparate groups banded together to protest unfair working conditions that affected them all, regardless of background.

After the completion of the Rideau Canal in 1832, Sarah, John, and their three children, Ann (b.1823), Robert (b.1828), and Sarah (b.1831), once again went where the work was, relocating to the Wabash Canal works to set up shop. The peripatetic nature of canal work meant that the family moved often. Ann would marry Irish-born James Clarke in Indiana in 1839. John, their next child, was born in New York state in 1833, while Thomas was born in Indiana in 1837. William (b.1842), Samuel (b.1846), and Jane (b.1847) were all born near Dubuque, Iowa where the family was enumerated on the 1850 US Federal Census.

Local papers recount a truly horrific story recounting eldest son Robert's murder of his father-in-law, and his own wife in January of 1855, followed by his own suicide. In 1856, the census listed John McGinty was listed as a widower, living with his children in the Whitewater area of Dubuque. Mother McGinty had passed away sometime after June 2, 1850, but before July 7, 1856, however, to date, no record of her death has been found. Later, on the 1860 US Federal Census, John is listed as living with

his now-married son John, his wife Mary, their newborn son John, and siblings Thomas, William, Samuel, and Jane. John died in 1881 in Jefferson, Colorado.

In 1874, Ottawa City Clerk William Pittman Lett immortalized McGinty, along with many other early settlers, in his pseudo epic ode to Bytown, *Recollections of Bytown*. Given the number of lines dedicated to McGinty, the impression she left on the burgeoning settlement must have been strong indeed. Mother McGinty's story was still a popular one in the collective conscious of the now-national capital. To this day, her exploits are fondly remembered in local lore, history, and in pubs.

AHEARN, JOHN & NORA

[John] Born: 1806, Ireland

Died: [Date Unknown], Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

Author: Eamonn McKee

We know little about Honorah Power, and not much more about John; just his birth in Ireland in 1806. We do not know if they married in Ireland or met after emigration to Canada. Likely, they found cheap passage as living ballast on the lumber ships' return leg from Ireland and Britain. They made their way to the Ottawa valley where there was work for a blacksmith like John. In addition to the logging industry, the Duke of Wellington had ordered in 1825 the construction of the Rideau to provide an alternative route to Montreal should the US invade.

With its vast expanse of untamed wilderness, British North America was a very different world from the one Norah and John had left behind. As they travelled up the Ottawa River, they would have seen the giant rafts of squared logs, topped with cabins and guided downriver to Montreal by strong and hardy lumbermen. They would too have seen Indigenous hunters, traders and warriors in their birch bark canoes.

Beyond the immediate region stripped of trees, Norah and John must have gazed in wonder at the Gatineau hills and the wilderness of bear and wolf stretching infinitively west and north. As everything fell under a crystalline spell of heavy snow and thick ice, at least in their first Canadian winter they had the company of a large Irish community drawn there by logging and cheap land. They could admire the success of fellow Irishman John Egan, leading lumber baron and politician who did much to encourage local Irish settlement.

The Rideau Canal created Bytown, named after chief engineer Colonel John By. Officers and gentlemen lived around Barracks Hill, the prominence overlooking the Ottawa River, that developed into affluent Uppertown. Workers settled in the swampy area that became Lowertown, its taverns and shanties witness to frequent violent fracas between the Irish and French competing for jobs and dominance. Bytown was one of the most violent towns in North America. Avoiding this and perhaps reflecting John's status as a craftsman, the Ahearns settled in Lebreton Flats, just west of Uppertown.

The strong and calloused hands of Norah and John were palimpsests of hard work. As John beat out metal in his forge, Norah's hard labour included running a household, giving birth and raising her children amidst brutally cold winters, muddy springs and mosquito infested summers. Prevalent illnesses and the ever present fear of injury and death added to the stresses of life on the frontier.

Throughout all of this, Norah was wife, mother, cook, cleaner, nurse, moral conscience, and educator. Raising a family in these conditions was nothing short of heroic.

As measured by the astonishing success of their son Thomas, John and Norah were loving and supportive parents, encouraging their son's lively spirit and insatiable curiosity. Tom was born in 1855 when Bytown was renamed Ottawa. By the time he turned thirteen, Canada was Confederated and Ottawa its capital, with construction of Parliament, largely by Irish and French workers, in the following years. Tom's young mind must have been fascinated by the magical transformations in his father's forge as glowing metal was hammered into usefulness. If metallurgy had fashioned civilization for millennia, and steam the age of industrialisation, harnessing electricity birthed the modern technological age. With the success of the transatlantic cable in 1866, communications were truly globalized with momentous consequences. Tom became obsessed with electricity, and as an engineer, inventor and wealthy business mogul, he, along with his childhood friend and business partner Warren Soper, transformed their home city with electric lighting, phones, tramways and much more. By 1900, Ottawa had more light bulbs per capita than any other city in the world. A master of promotion, Ahearn combined many traits: inventing and tinkering with new devices, networking people to advance projects, and thinking big about developing Ottawa. So prolific an inventor with more than thirty patents to his name. His electric oven had won him the gold medal at the Central Canada Exhibition in 1892 and featured in the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893 (a commemorative stamp issued in 2011). Tom was known as the 'Edison of Canada' and the 'King of Electricity'. Confidante of Prime Ministers, and appointed to the Privy Council, Tom was first chairman of the Federal District Commission that planned the city.

In 1884, Tom married Liliac MacKey Fleck. In 1886, Liliac gave birth to Frank, who grew to become a war veteran, businessman, MP, and sports mogul, inducted into the Hockey Hall of Fame. Two years later, while giving birth to their daughter, Liliac died. Grief-stricken, Thomas named his daughter Liliac. His wife's fate in childbirth was an ever-present mortal danger. She would not see her children grow and prosper, nor her daughter Liliac marry the publisher Harry Stevenson Southam, one of the resident elite families of old Ottawa.

In the Irish tradition, Frank called his daughter after his mother. Liliac Ahearn was born into a very different social milieu from that of her paternal great-grandparents. Embedded in the elite of Ottawa, she grew up familiar with the leading politicians, Governor Generals and VIPs who regularly visited her father Frank. Living in the mansion at 7 Rideau Gate, every event of her young life was documented in the press. Confident, enchanting and daring, after service in WW II, Liliac married Lionel Massey. She made her mark as the vice-regal consort to her widowed father-in-law Vincent when he was

appointed Canada's first citizen Governor General. She represented Canada at the 1952 coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in London, Vincent having elected to stay in Ottawa. She accompanied him on his more than eighty trips around Canada on all kinds of transport, from dog sleighs to aircraft, becoming the first woman to fly over the Arctic. Entertaining the world's elite in Ottawa at the official residence of Rideau Hall, Lilius was hostess to Canada's emergence onto the world stage in the 1950s.

With little more than their character, talent and grit, Norah and John established a new life in rough-and-tumble Bytown. For the Ahearns, as for so many Irish families, the opportunities of Canada transformed them. Within three generations, the talents of the Ahearns for innovation, business, sport, and politics in turn transformed Bytown into Ottawa as a modern city ahead of Montreal and Washington, and helped put Canada on the global map. Their modest beginning in Bytown and Lebreton Flats was typical of most newly arrived emigrants. Today, Lilius' family home is the official guest accommodation of the Canadian Government.

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Note:

We can look forward to a full treatment of Ahearn's life when a new biography of Ahearn and Soper is published by Laura Ott. Ott has said that Ahearn and Soper are "among the most unrecognized people for the type of impact they had on the city."

EGAN, JOHN M.P.P

Born: 1811, Lissavahaun, Co. Galway

Died: 1857, Quebec City, Quebec

Author: Michael McBane

From birth into a poor Catholic farming family in the west of Ireland to wealthy lumber baron and much loved Member of the Parliament, John Egan's life was a spectacular transformation wrought by the combination of his natural talents and the opportunities provided in the Ottawa Valley. He had left for Canada aged 20 with few resources and little education. By the time he died of cholera aged 46, Egan had used his business and political pre-eminence to develop the lumber industry, encourage Irish settlement, secure land for the Anishabeg reserve, support the campaign to make Bytown a capital city, and help lay the foundations for liberal democracy in pre-Confederation Canada.

John Egan was born in 1811, the youngest of William Egan's three sons, in the townland of Lissavahaun in the Parish of Aughrim, County Galway. During Egan's youth in Ireland, Daniel O'Connell's popular movement for Catholic Emancipation, the right of Roman Catholics to vote and sit in Parliament, sparked a Protestant backlash. It was led by the Orange Order, a secret society and exclusively Protestant organization dedicated to defending their interests in Ireland against Catholic advances. This is where John Egan's world began and where he developed his sense of justice, and his resolve to fight sectarianism and bigotry. His world was also shaped by the ending of the Napoleonic Wars which brought economic depression to Ireland while boosting the strategic value of Canadian lumber to Britain.

The transatlantic timber trade, supported by a protective tariff, enabled emigration from Ireland. Without it, there would have been no fleet of empty timber ships to transport hundreds of thousands of Irish emigrants on return trips to Quebec. The Ottawa Valley attracted Irish Protestant farmers with offers of cheap land and Irish Catholics who found work on the Rideau Canal and then the growing lumber industry which sourced and squared timber for transport to Montreal and then across the Atlantic to Britain and Ireland.

Lumber was the life-blood of the Canadian economy with much of it coming from the Ottawa and Gatineau Valleys by mid-century. Operations cutting, squaring and transporting the great pines were conducted simultaneously on almost every stream emptying into the Ottawa River between Pembroke and Ottawa. The complex logistics were as challenging as the physical risks. Yet by 1854, John Egan & Co. (J.E. & Co.) employed 3800 men in one hundred lumber camps. No one lumberman

had ever directed an enterprise of such magnitude. Egan's company was of tremendous importance for the entire Ottawa Valley. As well as employing thousands directly, his business was a major purveyor of farm supplies and river transportation.

Egan was a man with a social conscience who never forgot his Galway roots. Ottawa Valley Irish emigrants made up the bulk of J.E. & Co.'s workforce. Egan endeared himself to many Irish settlers by selling them land at fifty cents an acre, with an indeterminate time for payment. In the early 1850's, Egan even advertised affordable steerage passage from the ports of Cork, New Ross, and Donegal for family and friends of the Ottawa Valley Irish.

As well as raising a family of nine children with his wife Anne Margaret Gibson and running his many businesses, Egan entered politics, elected mayor of his hometown, Aylmer, Quebec, in 1847. Between 1848 and 1857, as the elected representative of Ottawa County (then 'Pontiac'), Egan worked tirelessly to encourage government support for public infrastructure in the region.

John Egan believed Irish emigrants came to Canada, not only for economic opportunity, but also to escape the inequality, injustice and sectarianism of life in Ireland. He was determined to prevent sectarian divisions influencing the Canadian social order.

In a sectarian time, Egan was a Catholic convert to Anglicanism and was comfortable with both religious traditions. He was a bridge-builder and mediator in an age when ecumenism was rare. The English and French residents of Lower Canada tended to live as two solitudes, with Bytown on the faultline between Ontario and Quebec. Egan had business partnerships and friendships with French Canadians, including Joseph Aumond, Jos. Montferrand and Louis Joseph Papineau, and was well respected in the francophone community.

Egan's anti-sectarian politics helped bridge the ethnic and linguistic solitudes of Francophone Lower and Anglophone Upper Canada decades before the arrival of Thomas D'Arcy McGee. Egan's words written in 1841 resonate still: "Ireland...has suffered long & much [through] a party spirit which has had the effect of forcing many of the peaceable & well disposed, to emigrate to another land. Do not allow such conduct here; let all national and religious differences be buried in oblivion."

Egan the lumber baron politician defied stereotypes. The lumber community in the Ottawa Valley was politically conservative and hostile to the notion of responsible government that devolved power to local executives. Egan rejected the Tories and embraced responsible government. The economic and social elites lived in a world of privilege and greed. Egan maintained solidarity with emigrants, the working poor and people in need. The lumber trade was notorious for drunkenness and violence. Egan encouraged temperance among his shantymen and acted as conciliator in local disputes. In a rough

business, Egan dressed as a refined gentleman. Lumbermen opposed the granting of land to the Algonquin community of the Gatineau River. To Egan's lasting credit, he played a pivotal role that helped secure land for what is today the thriving Kitigan Zibi Anishinàbeg.

Egan facilitated the economic integration of thousands of newly arrived Irish into Canadian life, notably throughout the Ottawa and Gatineau Valleys. He played an important role in advocating for Bytown as the permanent capital of Canada. In a world of election violence and fraud, Egan supported free and fair elections. He practiced the politics of inclusion that enriched Canadian political culture and contributed to the building of a liberal democracy in Canada. His untimely death robbed the region of an innovative business leader, a tireless advocate for his adopted city, a community bridge-builder, and a leading political figure at ease entertaining the elite of British North America, as he did when Governor General Lord Elgin visited the frontier town. The passion and compassion of this generous Irishman made Ottawa a better place in his lifetime. Egan's contribution to public life would yield fruit in a future he did not live to see but bears his mark to this day.

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ARCHBISHOP CONNOLLY, THOMAS LOUIS OFM Cap

Born: 1815, Cork City, Co. Cork

Died: 1876, Halifax, Nova Scotia

Author: Mark G. McGowan

Thomas Connolly was a pioneer cleric who possessed a life-long affinity to the poor and marginalized. Left fatherless at the age of three, he assisted his widowed mother in the family retail business before coming under the wing of Father Theobald Mathew, Ireland's famous temperance crusader. Connolly joined the Capuchin friary in Cork, under the mentorship of Mathew, and subsequently continued his education in Rome, and was ordained at Lyon in 1838. His linguistic talents included fluency in English, Italian, Latin, and Irish. He never lost a sense of his Irish roots, even though he spent much of his life away from Ireland. He was an accomplished fiddle player and was noted for his musical entertainment at social gatherings throughout his life. William Walsh of the Irish College in Rome became a second mentor to him, and in 1842, Connolly accompanied Walsh to Halifax, where the latter was to become bishop. Having served as Walsh's Vicar General, Connolly would eventually become recognized as an outstanding administrator with a special vocation to serve the poor of Halifax. When the See of Fredericton, New Brunswick, became vacant, Walsh nominated Connolly as "outstanding in character, genuine, intelligent, sufficiently learned in Theology, expert in manner and generous to the poor."

In 1852, Connolly was appointed to Fredericton, but he spent much of his time in the Province's largest and most important port, Saint John. There he recruited two religious orders, the Sacred Heart Sisters from Halifax and the Sisters of Charity of New York, to build a social and educational infrastructure so lacking for the Irish Catholic population of the town. When the New York sisters refused to send their own members to Saint John, Connolly arranged that local women be sent to New York for training and then return to serve his diocese. In 1854, a cholera epidemic killed 1,000 people in Saint John and left Connolly in charge of 70 orphans. Avoiding the fate of the Catholic Famine orphans of 1847, and their placement in Protestant homes by civic officials, Connolly founded the first Catholic orphanage in the city. He also introduced the first pension plan for the struggling priests of his diocese and ordered the construction of a cathedral, with the intention of moving the centre of ecclesiastical power from Fredericton to Saint John. His pioneering efforts attracted the attention of Pope Pius IX, whom he visited in 1857, and Pius appointed him Archbishop of Halifax, upon the death of Walsh in 1858.

Connolly's elevation to Halifax, in 1859, allowed him to become the most influential Catholic prelate in the three Maritime provinces. Locally he expanded the network of Catholic schools and, with the passage of the Education Act in 1865, he skillfully arranged a "gentleman's agreement" with

Conservative Premier Charles Tupper, that Catholic schools in Halifax could seek financial assistance from the Board of Public Instruction. He invited the DeLaSalle Christian Brothers from Montreal to join the Sacred Heart Sisters, and Sister of Charity, to teach in the Halifax Catholic schools. He restructured the diocesan offices, founded new parishes, and expanded St. Mary's Cathedral. He even visited Bermuda, which was part of his diocese.

Connolly was a consummate politician and was later given the title "Godfather" of Canadian Confederation. As politicians from Canada and the Atlantic colonies of British North America engaged in discussions over a formal union between the provinces, in 1864, Connolly became the most outspoken Catholic prelate in favour of the proposed Confederation. Allied with Charles Tupper, Connolly public spoke about how the Confederation of provinces would bring commercial benefits and a collective colonial defense against the USA. When Irish republicans under the banner of the Fenian brotherhood made plans to invade the British North American Provinces to "free Ireland," Connolly boldly denounced them as "wretched, deluded, and Godless." In 1866, as delegates from the provinces attended the London Conference, to prepare the bill that would become the British North America Act, Connolly himself attended the London meetings and worked behind the scenes to secure rights for Catholic schools. His wining and dining (he did not emulate his mentor, Father Mathew!) and frequent conversations with British officials helped to secure section 93 of the bill, which constitutionally protected separate denominational schools as they existed in law. While Connolly secured a major victory for Catholic schools, section 93 would not apply to Nova Scotia because Catholic school rights were attained by a gentleman's agreement, not by an act of the legislative assembly. Despite their friendship, he could not secure such protection from Tupper. Before leaving London, Connolly was also able to undercut anti-Confederates led by Joseph Howe, whom the Archbishop denounced to Lord Carnarvon in a twenty-three-page letter. On Confederation, Connolly wrote: "let that great measure be carried by all means and it will help to establish a mighty and kindred Nation, where friends are most needed, it will materially strengthen, if not save the Empire when the time comes. It will be an additional fulcrum to that balance of power which is indispensable to the safety of Nations, the peace of the World, and the liberties of Mankind."

Connolly's eloquence was also witnessed at the Vatican Council in 1869-70. He was openly critical of the document on materialism and rationalism, and it was subsequently overhauled. He thrice opposed the declaration of papal infallibility as inopportune and lacking "all rational foundation." He was one of 88 bishops who voted against the declaration, but left the Council before the final vote, so as not to embarrass his friend Pope Pius IX. Upon arrival in Halifax, he declared to a colleague that he was "done with Councils" and "useless travels." Connolly was proud of his Irish heritage, but fully

embraced Canada and its potential it for his fellow Irishmen. With his ally Thomas D'Arcy McGee, Connolly was an Irish midwife to the birth of Canada. He died suddenly in Halifax in 1876.

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SIR GOWAN, JAMES ROBERT

Born, 1815, Cahore, County Wexford

Died, 22 December 1909, Barrie, Ontario

Joanne Kellerman

Sir James Robert Gowan's extraordinary career in public life included over 40 years as a judge of the courts of Upper Canada, later Ontario, and 22 years more in the Senate of Canada. Gowan made significant contributions to the substance of Canadian laws, the organization of the Ontario courts, and to court procedure. His analytical mind, deep legal knowledge and practical judgement made Gowan a trusted advisor, influencing decades of the development of the law and legal institutions both before and after Confederation. The founder of the Upper Canada Law Journal, he was most comfortable behind the scenes proposing many laws, most notably Canada's first Criminal Code in 1892.

James Robert Gowan was born in 1815 to a Tory Anglican family who could trace their history back to the twelfth century. The family name had been changed from MacGowan, in Gowan's words, "to indicate that the bearer of it, though Irish, was in sympathy with English rule in Ireland." The only son, Gowan was educated privately, at home and then in Dublin.

In 1832, the family joined other Protestant Ascendancy families emigrating from Ireland due to the Catholic Emancipation Act. They settled outside the town of York (now Toronto). The youthful Gowan became an articled law clerk and became a member of the Orange Lodge, then led by his cousin, Ogle.

In 1837, Gowan took up arms to defend the government against William Lyon Mackenzie's rebels. Gowan saw action at the battle of Gallows Hill, and at Montgomery's Tavern. Ironically, afterwards his law office was retained to defend about fifty of the rebels on charges arising from the insurrection. This led perhaps to Gowan's views evolving to support those advocating for responsible government. Called to the bar in 1839, at the age of 23, Gowan continued to practice with James Edward Small, who was then Solicitor General. By the early 1840s, Gowan broke with the Orange Lodge, and took pains to retrieve his correspondence from his cousin.

In elections in 1841 and 1842, Gowan campaigned for his law partner, Small, and for Sir Robert Baldwin. In recompense, and after Gowan's health had broken down from the strain of running the law practice in Small's absence, he was appointed to the bench. In January 1843, at 27, he was appointed judge for the District of Simcoe, the largest territory in the Province. Gowan became the youngest judge to be appointed in the British Empire at that time. Settlement in the massive district had only begun and Gowan travelled on horseback in summer and by sleigh in winter, lodging and holding court in the modest settler dwellings.

On one occasion, two settlers waited for him at the side of the road, wanting him to resolve a boundary dispute between their lands. One spoke English, the other had to supplement his explanation in Gaelic. Gowan, "who had some knowledge of the Gaelic, gladly noted" that the first was fairly translating his neighbour's words. Gowan resolved the dispute to the satisfaction of both sides. It was far from the only time Gowan was called on to adjudicate disputes informally. Gowan's record on the bench was equally solid. During his forty plus year career, only two cases were reversed on appeal.

Settled in Barrie, in 1844 Gowan became a trustee of the local grammar school, a post he held for 50 years, and chair of the district board of public education. He also chaired the local high school board and then the collegiate institute board, resigning only in 1892.

Gowan exerted enormous influence on the development of the court system and the legal framework in Upper Canada. With a brilliant mind that was both organized and analytical, Gowan's influence could be seen in improvements to the courts' organization, practices, and to the workload and payment of judges. Gowan's efforts were typically in the background. Founding the Upper Canada Law Journal, Gowan used it as a means to put forward his ideas without attribution. At his instigation, Upper Canada became the first jurisdiction in the British Empire to have salaried Crown prosecutors, rather than requiring victims to advance criminal cases themselves.

In the 1850s he was appointed to a commission to reform the court system and responsibilities of Justices of the Peace. Notably, in 1858, Gowan was appointed to a commission to oversee consolidating the laws of Upper Canada. Gowan drafted many statutes, aiming to bring coherence and organization to the law. In 1864, his friend of nearly forty years, Sir John A. Macdonald, appointed

Gowan to a three-member committee which resolved and diffused (to the contractors' chagrin) the hotly political dispute over the cost of construction of the Parliament buildings in Ottawa.

In 1869, he became chair of the Board of County Judges, which established rules for the courts, and served as an appeal court. Gowan did much of the work on a bill to combine two British court systems, common law and equity, into one court system, enacted in 1873. Gowan continued to support statute revision and was awarded a gold medal by the Government of Ontario for his work in the 1877 consolidation Ontario's laws.

During the 1870s, Gowan had increasing difficulty with Canadian winters, travelling in various years to Florida, the Bahamas, England, France, and Egypt. Summers were spent on an island in Lake Muskoka, where he built a house, welcoming family and friends. In 1883, Gowan resigned from the bench, but in 1885 Macdonald appointed him to the Senate, where he became an asset to the Department of Justice--drafting of many government bills and advising on the administration of justice. Gowan advocated for codifying the criminal law and played a key role in enacting the first Criminal Code in 1892. It was the first such codification in the self-governing countries of the British Empire.

In 1889 Gowan was made a Queen's Counsel and called to the Irish bar. He was knighted in 1905 and retired from the Senate in 1907. He died in 1909 at 94. The Irish Times: offered a fitting eulogie "We recognize in the life-work and brilliant success of our brother Irishman, another proof that in the Colonial Irish success often eclipses that of men of every other nationality, and earns for our people a higher regard in the world. Judge Gowan's scholarship and literary skill, added to his legal qualities, have rendered him one of the most accomplished jurists of Canada throughout many years."

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ARCHBISHOP LYNCH, JOHN JOSEPH CM

Born: 1816, Clones Parish, Co. Fermanagh

Died: 1888, Toronto, Ontario

Author: Mark G. McGowan

While often considered a native of County Monaghan, Ireland, Lynch was in fact born in 1816 in the parish of Clones, in a small section in County Fermanagh. His father was a schoolteacher, so it was not unexpected that the young Lynch pursued his formal education with vigour. He was educated in Lucan (County Dublin) and Paris, where he became a member of the Vincentian Order of missionary priests. Ordained in 1843, he was eventually sent to the mission field in Texas, where he remained only from 1846 to 1848. Having contracted malaria, he was moved to Vincentian institutions in Missouri and New York. It was in Niagara that he founded Our Lady of the Angels Seminary (now Niagara University) and caught the eye of Toronto bishop Armand de Charbonnel. After preaching a mission in Toronto in 1858, Lynch was nominated by Charbonnel to be his coadjutor with right of succession. In 1860, Charbonnel resigned, and Lynch assumed control of a vast territory that stretched from the Niagara Peninsula to Georgian Bay. When Pope Pius IX elevated Lynch to the rank of Archbishop in 1870, his provincial territory much of southern and northern Ontario.

His influence across Ontario was as enormous, a fact recognized by the leading politicians of the day: Conservative Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald in Ottawa and Liberal Premier Oliver Mowat in Ontario, who sought his support. Lynch quickly became the leader in building the Catholic education system in Ontario. In 1863, he supported Catholic politician Richard Scott and his separate school bill, which gave Catholic schools greater access to public funds and extended their establishment into rural areas. When, in 1867, separate schools would be at the mercy of provincial governments under the new Confederation agreement, Lynch argued for a strengthening of the provisions of the Scott Act and supported formal protection for denominational schools by the federal government under the British North America Act, which created the Dominion of Canada. Lynch also fostered the creation of additional Catholic separate schools in the cities of central Ontario and supported the founding of educational institutes by religious orders of men and women. Upon Lynch's arrival to Ontario, in 1860, there were 14,708 students in 115 separate schools across the province. By the time of his death in 1888, there were 260 separate schools educating 34,571 students. Much of this success in numbers was due to Lynch's tireless advocacy and behind-the-scenes diplomacy. In a partnership with long-time Liberal Premier Oliver Mowat (1872–1896), Lynch secured numerous concessions for separate schools: the right of Catholic ratepayers to declare themselves separate school supporters only once, instead of annually; the appointment of special Catholic inspectors for separate schools; the right of

Catholics to elect a separate school trustee to Public high school boards; the right of Catholic tenants to support Catholic schools; and the right of Catholic businesses to direct their business taxes to local Catholic school boards. Protestant pundits and politicians denounced the so-called “Lynch–Mowat Concordat” and described Mowat, a Presbyterian, as being a mere pawn of the minions of Rome.

Lynch’s insistence that Catholic be accorded full rights as citizens came at a time when Ontario, particularly its capital Toronto, witnessed violent clashes between Catholics and Protestants. In 1864, members of the Orange Young Britons attacked a Corpus Christi Procession on the grounds of St. Michael’s Catholic Cathedral. In 1875, Catholic pilgrims parading on two successive Sundays, celebrating the Papal Jubilee, were attacked by mobs of Protestants who objected to such a “desecration” of the Sabbath. After the riots, Lynch praised the work of local police, Catholic and Protestant, who restored order in Toronto, and argued for patience on the part of Catholic Christians: “We tolerate what we cannot help, we endure what we cannot cure.”

Lynch disagreed with his fellow bishop, Thomas Louis Connolly, of Halifax, that Canada provided toleration and potential prosperity for Irish immigrants. Smarting from this periodic sectarian violence in Toronto, Lynch warned bishops in Ireland about the “evils of wholesale and improvident emigration from Ireland.” When it came to aligning himself with Irish nationalists, Lynch was careful to espouse his support for constitutional approaches to the Irish question which would award Ireland the autonomy within the British Empire that Canada already enjoyed. He publicly opposed the Fenians, who through their use of violence were “lawless men who, pretending to remedy the evils of Ireland, would inflict dreadful injury on the inhabitants of this Province.” Lynch had an uncomfortable relationship with physical force Irish nationalists, and he cancelled some St. Patrick’s Day parades for fear of violence and refused to meet Irish radicals when they visited his city. Ever professing Irish Catholic loyalty to the Crown, on St. Patrick’s Day in 1875, Lynch proclaimed that, despite the adversity they faced in Canada, the Irish had a Providential role in nation-building, particularly being God’s “co-operators in spreading His Gospel and saving those who were lost.” His sense of Irish spirituality was deep, as noted by his devotion to Our Lady of Knock, and the healing powers credited to relics from this Irish shrine. He was also a fervent ultramontane, who vociferously supported the declaration of papal infallibility at the first Vatican Council.

In the period leading up to the creation of the Canadian Confederation in 1867, Lynch was a strong supporter of the creation of the new Dominion withing the Empire. His political quid-pro-quo with provincial and federal politicians secured patronage posts for Catholics and political clout for the Church. When Lynch died in 1888, he left an impressive legacy as a skilled negotiator as well as a magnet for controversy. His last request was that he not be buried in the crypt of St. Michael’s

Cathedral, which was his right; instead, his remains should rest under the Cathedral's north wall, where passers-by could see his resting place and say a prayer for the repose of his soul.

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PALLISER, JOHN *IN PROGRESS

Born: 1817, Dublin

Died: 1887, Kilmacthomas, Country Waterford

Author: Eamonn McKee

DEASE, ELLEN

(Mother Teresa Dease, IBVM)

Born: 1820, Kildare, Co. Kildare

Died: 1889, Toronto, Ontario

Author: Elizabeth Smyth

Numerous Irish born and Irish descended women served Canada and the Roman Catholic Church as women religious (nuns and sisters), building institutions of education, social service and health care from coast to coast to coast. As with many of their countrywomen, their names and contributions remain anonymous, with history capturing their fleeting presence with such infamous phrases as “and the good nuns taught” while the male clerics and their secular male collaborators are named and celebrated. One their number is Mother Teresa (Ellen) Dease, a teacher and religious superior.

At the height of the typhus epidemic, on 17 September 1847, Dease was one of the five pioneering members of the Rathfarnham-based Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (the Loreto) sisters. They came to Toronto at the invitation of its first Roman Catholic Bishop, Michael Power, to staff parish schools and establish an academy for girls and young women. Within two weeks of their arrival, Bishop Power was dead of typhus. Within four years, three of the pioneering band would be buried alongside him in the crypt of the unfinished St Michael’s Cathedral, victims of tuberculosis. One of their number would return to Ireland. Dease, the one member to remain in Canada, would lead her community for most of the late nineteenth century.

As a teacher and superior, Dease’s career was remarkable. Despite an inauspicious beginning, she oversaw the community’s growth that, at the time of her death, numbered some 207 sisters. She deployed her community across Ontario and the United States, establishing 13 foundations where her teaching sisters lived, taught in parish schools and academies, taught music to children and adults of all faiths and ethnicities, and contributed broadly to the cultural and religious life of their communities.

Dease was an educational innovator. She encouraged the credentialing of her sisters by the state. She supported the aligning the curriculum of the Loretto schools with the provincial one, enabling its graduates to qualify as teachers and for admission to tertiary education. Thus, she laid the foundations for Loretto College at the University of Toronto. In governance, Dease oversaw the establishment of Loretto (changing the spelling of its name) in North America as independent of the Irish motherhouse in Rathfarnham. But Mother Teresa Dease represents much more than this. She embodies the largely

unstudied multiple networks of which Irish women religious were a part. She was part of a biological family, an ecclesial family, and an ethno-cultural family.

Mother Teresa was born Elinor (Ellen) Dease in Naas, Co Kildare- one of 5 children of Ann Nugent and Oliver Dease. Her father was surgeon in the British Army who served in the 3rd Garrison Battalion primarily in Malta and retired back to Ireland at half-pay in 1818. His career serves as a reminder that British army was a tool for social mobility among Irish Catholics, offering entry into the commissioned ranks to members of the emerging Irish professional middle class. Mother Teresa and her siblings were orphaned in 1821 and for the following 10 years, they benefitted from the McGrigor's Benevolent and Orphans Fund, that provided financial support to the widows and children of deceased army medical officers.

The five Dease children illustrate the gendered professional and migration patterns prevalent in nineteenth century Irish society. Anne joined the Loretos in Fermoy and Bridget, lived as a lay woman within that community until her death. William, a physician, emigrated to Melbourne, Australia. Christopher, a lawyer, also emigrated to New South Wales, becoming a newspaper publisher and politician. Family correspondences share the usual news of family hatches, matches and dispatches, news of the expat Irish community and illustrates the ways in which familial networks cross international lines and both intersect and rise above political and ecclesiastical jurisdictions.

The Loreto sisters were founded in Belgium in 1609 by an exiled English woman, Mary Ward, and dedicated to the education of girls and young women. It was brought to Ireland in 1821 by a Dublin woman, Mother Teresa Ball. When Dease entered the order in 1845, she became part of its world-wide network of teaching sisters, who shared the same charism, constitutions, and customs. When Dease prayed in community, she used the same prayer formulas as the Loreto sisters in convents that spanned the globe. Its schools shared the same mottos, missions and celebrations.

Dease's self-described favourite convent was Loretto Niagara. She established the convent and boarding school. She taught there. She lived there. She chose to be buried within its grounds. Its location, perched just above the Horseshoe Falls, provided the perfect vantage point from which to view them. Indeed numerous visiting dignitaries did so, including many Royal parties. The quarterly literary magazine- founded at the school was aptly named *The Niagara Rainbow* in honour of the prism effect of that the Falls' mist played on the convent walls. It included contributions by leading Irish authors.

Although her familial roots were entwined with the British empire and imperial identity, Dease considered herself Irish. At no time was this more evident than when Princess Louise, the wife of The

Marquis of Lorne, Governor General of Canada, first visited Loretto Abbey. Decades after the meeting, the editor of the *Rainbow* (vol. XII, Jan., 1905) recorded the event: “The Princess charmed by her reception ... with much evident admiration said to Rev. Mother [Dease] – “You are an English [emphasis in original] lady.” “No Princess” was the reply “I come from Dublin.” Ah! The two volumes of history that met in those queenly ladies! One was the descendants of the oppressors of Ireland; the other the descendants of her defenders. The ancestors of the one had robbed the ancestors of the other.” Even decades after her death, this memory of Mother Dease was evoked to emphasise her pride in her Irish identity.

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SADLIER, MARY ANNE MADDEN

Born: 1820, Cootehil, Co. Cavan

Died: 1903, Montreal, Quebec

Author: Jason King

Mary Anne Sadlier was in many respects a typical figure of the Irish Catholic emigrant community that she sought to represent and for which she wrote. Born in Cootehill, County Cavan, in 1820, she emigrated at the age of 24 to the Irish settlement of Sainte-Marthe in Quebec in 1844, where she married James Sadlier on 24 November 1846. The following summer she helped him establish the Montreal branch of one of the leading Catholic publishers in North America, D. & J. Sadlier & Co, beside Notre Dame Church. She quickly became one of its most popular and prolific authors, eventually helping transform it into the largest Catholic publishing house in North America.

During her lifetime, Sadlier published nearly one hundred novels and translations, historical and religious tracts, although by the time of her death in 1903 her literary reputation had significantly diminished. Her early novels such as *Willy Burke; or the Irish Orphan in America* (1850), *Alice Riordan, the Blind Man's Daughter: A Tale for the Young* (1851), *New lights; or, Life in Galway. A tale.* (1853), *The Blakes and Flanagans: A Tale Illustrative of Irish Life in the United States*, and *Elinor Preston; or, Scenes at Home and Abroad* (1861, serialized in 1857), often featured Irish emigrant orphan or peasant protagonists resisting the threat of proselytization and pressure to assimilate into a hegemonic Anglo-Protestant culture. Her most autobiographical novel *Elinor Preston* is narrated from the first person perspective of a middle aged, devoutly Catholic Irish woman whose recollections after thirty years of living in Montreal and then rural Quebec appear somber in tone, marked with an air of sadness, quiet resignation, and a passive acceptance of suffering as the sure path to moral salvation and spiritual enlightenment. Like her protagonist, Sadlier herself admired French-Canadians as akin to Irish Catholics in their ostensibly steadfast perservance against Protestant temptation both in Ireland and Quebec.

Mary Anne Sadlier formed a close friendship and literary partnership with the Irish-Canadian author, statesman, and visionary of Confederation, Thomas D'Arcy McGee. She communicated regularly with him over a period that spanned from 1855, two years before he embarked from the United States for Montreal to become editor of *The New Era* and then run for Canadian office (1857), until shortly before his assassination in 1868. After McGee moved to Montreal, the Sadliers relocated to New York in 1860 from where she continued their correspondence. She shared much of McGee's outlook and regularly discussed his efforts to implement principles of social conservatism, cultural nationalism,

and constitutional protection for religious instruction and Catholic, denominational education within a Canadian legislative context. McGee invited Sadlier to Ottawa in 1867 to what he termed “the opening of the first Parliament of the new Confederacy” and establishment of the Canadian nation. She was devastated by his assassination the following year, and played a pivotal role in shaping his literary legacy through her posthumous publication of *The Poems of Thomas D’Arcy McGee. With Copious Notes. Also an Introduction and Biographical Sketch*, by Mrs J. Sadlier (1869). Mary Anne Sadlier suffered further loss when she was widowed in 1869 and she eventually returned to Montreal in the 1880s.

One of the mysteries of Mary Anne Sadlier’s literary career is that she bore witness to the Irish Famine influx in Montreal in 1847 where up to six thousand migrants perished but she never wrote about it until over four decades had passed. It was not until 1891 that she published “The Plague of 1847” in *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, a vivid eyewitness recollection of what had transpired in the city’s fever sheds and surrounding neighbourhoods. There can little doubt that Sadlier’s memory of Montreal’s Irish Famine migration was initially inhibited by the overtly Protestant associations with the Ship Fever or Black Rock memorial that was erected in 1859 to mark their fate. Although the vast majority of the Famine dead were Irish Catholic, the Black Rock’s installation under the auspices of the city’s Protestant bishop was deeply controversial. The deliberate exclusion of Catholic clergy from the memorial’s dedication ceremony was widely construed as a deliberate humiliation. The growing animus between Catholics and Protestants in 1850s Montreal both helped launch Mary Anne Sadlier’s literary career but also foreclosed her memory of what she later termed its “six thousand half-forgotten” Famine victims buried beneath an unconsecrated monument that was inimical to her religious beliefs. Its dedication ceremony marked a complete repudiation of her literary mission.

Ultimately, it was not until Mary Anne Sadlier’s return to Montreal from New York and the reclamation of the Black Rock by the city’s Irish Catholic community in the 1880s that she began to draw upon her own eyewitness impressions of Famine emigrants as a source of inspiration in her work. The transformation of the Black Rock into a site of Irish Catholic pilgrimage and communal procession prompted Sadlier to similarly recall the city’s half-forgotten victims in service of a more usable past. In one of her final publications entitled “Something About Point St. Charles” in the *True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* (1900), she described it as “a holy and righteous object”. In her final years, Sadlier lay claim to the monument and commemoration of the Montreal’s Famine dead as a belated theme in her writing. Mary Anne Sadlier was recognized as a National Historic Person by Parks Canada in 2008.

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GRIMASON, ELIZABETH 'ELIZA'

Born: 1821, Northern Ireland

Died: 1916 Kingston (tbc)

Author: Rosemary O'Flaherty

Much of the extant literature about Eliza Grimson is anecdotal and alludes to a possible romantic liaison with Canada's first Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald. By all accounts, she and Macdonald did indeed maintain a close relationship until his death in 1891. Considering that when they met in 1836, she was sixteen and he, twenty-three, this is entirely plausible although there is no documentary evidence to support this assertion. To look only at an amorous connection however obscures what may have been a much more fundamental association between the two: a quid pro quo.

Eliza Grimson, née Elizabeth Jane Deacon, and her husband, Henry, emigrated from the north of Ireland to Canada sometime prior to 1836. Received wisdom characterizes her as poor, lower class, uneducated and illiterate--the stereotyped nineteenth century Irish immigrant. Her letters to Macdonald, however, indicate that she had at least a reasonable level of literacy and her initial contact with him to buy property suggests she and Henry may not necessarily have been poor.

In the summer of 1836, sixteen year old Eliza consulted Macdonald about the property she and Henry intended to purchase on Division Street in Kingston, Ontario. Note it was Eliza and not Henry who approached Macdonald. Within the next fifteen years Eliza astutely connected two vital concepts: Kingston was a bastion of conservative politics and John A. Macdonald was its rising star. In 1851, Macdonald had purchased investment property on Princess Street that included a ground floor tavern with rooms above for rent, a short walk from his law office on Quarry Street. The Grimsons, at Eliza's urging, immediately rented it. Capitalizing on Macdonald's ascendancy, the Grimsons catered to the Conservative crowd so that Macdonald obligingly held the rent at £300 per year. Five years later, the Grimsons purchased the property from Macdonald and renamed it Grimson House with Macdonald holding the mortgage which he graciously forgave when Henry Grimson died in 1867. The Grimson family would remain the proprietors of the property until 1923.

Under Eliza's stewardship, the tavern became the favoured meeting place for Kingston's Conservatives and, eventually, Macdonald's unofficial campaign headquarters. On election nights, Eliza provided Macdonald supporters with free food and drinks, a shrewd use of the concept of loss leader, as it guaranteed Conservative patronage on every other night; but the free dinners came with a price. Eliza harangued patrons with the finer points of Tory politics and endeavoured to influence them in order to deliver votes for Macdonald. God help any Grit discovered by Eliza as she was not averse to

declaring her dislike of Grits right in front of them. Grimason House provided Macdonald an open platform with which to advance his political agenda and a comfortable venue to attract adherents and votes. Historian James Roy best described Grimason House as “the shrine of John A.’s worshippers with Mrs. Grimason as high priestess.”

In addition to rendering Grimason House a rallying place for Conservatives, Eliza also provided Macdonald with auxiliary services. She reserved two rooms for him at Grimason House where he spent many nights. When in Kingston during the last months of his marriage Macdonald apparently preferred the rooms at Grimason House to his own home. Eliza made her horse-drawn carriage available to Macdonald and his supporters for their many engagements, often chauffeuring them from one meeting to the next. On election days, the buggy functioned as a taxi, ferrying Conservative voters to the polls. Dedicated to ensuring a Macdonald victory, Eliza also contributed to his campaign funds.

Eliza may have subscribed to Conservative politics, or it may have been a convenient expedient to augment her own ambitions. Either way, her political involvement transcended nineteenth century female sensibilities. At a time when women did not have the vote and were not welcomed at political events, Eliza would be the sole female attendee at Conservative meetings using her voice and powers of persuasion to garner votes for Macdonald. She ensured she was present in the House of Commons whenever he took his seat on the Conservative bench and managed to wrangle an invitation to Earnscliffe, the official residence. When the polls closed on election night, Eliza joined the men in Macdonald’s committee room awaiting the results and when Macdonald resigned in 1873, she was devastated.

Eliza called in her favours shortly after the 1878 election. When asking for a postmaster ship for one William Shannon, Eliza reminded Macdonald “I have made more Conservatives for you than half of the office seekers that is [sic] after you.” Then again, in 1885 she importuned Macdonald to transfer her son, Thomas, to Kingston as Deputy Collector of Inland Revenue. “I ask you as a special favour to have my son transferred to Kingston. I hope you will do this for me as I am fading fast and I would like to have him with me before I go out.” She would not ‘go out’ for another thirty years. Eliza died on 30 March 1916 at the age of 95. Prior to her death, she purchased a plot adjacent to Macdonald’s in Kingston’s Cataraqui Cemetery where she had her husband’s remains reinterred. Both plots are surrounded by typical nineteenth century wrought iron fencing but whereas Macdonald’s grave is marked by a simple grey cross, the Grimason obelisk rises well above it.

Conservative politics and a personal relationship with Sir John A. Macdonald fuelled the efficiency and success of Eliza and Grimason House. By the end of her life, Eliza managed to amass property estimated at \$50,000, a princely sum in 1916. That there was an affinity between the two is

unquestioned. Indeed Macdonald kept a framed photograph in his office of Mrs. Grimason beside that of his mother. In 1890 after one of his last public appearances, a woman approached the podium and he exclaimed “‘Hello, old woman!’ grasped her in his arms and gave her a hearty kiss;.” It was none other than Eliza Grimason. Was it love, lust, or a savvy, immigrant woman who identified and then exploited a golden opportunity?

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SMITH, SIR FRANK

Born: 1822, Richhill, Co. Armagh

Died: 1901, Toronto, Ontario

Author: Mark G. McGowan

When Patrick Smith's wife died in Armagh in 1832, he uprooted his three children and emigrated to Port Credit, Upper Canada, where he established a farmstead. Three years later Patrick sent his eldest son, Joseph, to the Talbot Settlement on Lake Erie to procure a larger farm. Joseph's murder during this errand, and the death of his father, thrust thirteen-year-old Frank into the position of guardian of his sister and ambitious to acquire wealth to sustain the remnants of his family. He placed his sister with a local family and began work, first as a courier for the Canadian militia during the Rebellions of 1837 and then as an apprentice in the grocery trade.

Frank seemed to have a talent for retailing. In 1848, he opened up a general store on the Welland Canal works to capitalize on the provisioning of fellow Irish canal labourers and their families at Niagara. This business gave him seed capital to open up a wholesale business in London, Ontario, the following year. Frank Smith & Company expanded its interests by investments in railways, the liquor trade, and various other retail outlets.

In 1867, Smith opened a branch of his retail empire in Toronto, where he took up residence. His trade sales became the topic of wonder, particularly one sale that netted him \$154,000 in a single day. His wholesale trade in Toronto gave him the opportunity to make further investments and control several major Canadian corporations: Smith was director of Toronto General Trusts, Vice-President of Dominion Telegraph, President and owner of the Toronto Street Railway, President of the Dominion Bank, President of the Northern Railway, President of the Niagara Navigation Company, and by 1879, the President of Home Savings and Loan. When he formally retired from business, in 1891, he was a multi-millionaire and one of the richest Irish Catholics in Canada.

Smith's acquisition of wealth was not without controversy. His acquisition of the Home Bank, founded originally by Bishop Armand de Charbonnel of Toronto, was an initiative to assist Irish Catholic immigrants acquire a firm footing in their new home. Ironically, it was this same Irish community that worked in various capacities on the Toronto Street Railway, over which he became majority shareholder in 1881. Ironical because it was known as "Smith's Goldmine", the TSR made record profits for Smith and other shareholders, largely on the backs of his employees, who worked fourteen-hour days, for low wages, and without the opportunity to unionize. In March 1886, TSR workers attempted

to join the fledgling Knights of Labor, a union uniting the trades and industrial workers. After three days of rioting and a lockout, Smith broke the union, but agreed to a modest increase in wages if workers returned. During a second disruption, in May, workers offered a rival “free bus company”, which ended abruptly when their car barns were mysteriously torched. Smith prevailed again. In 1891, he sold the TSR back to the City of Toronto, for \$500,000. It is now the famous TTC (Toronto Transit Commission).

While managing his retail and financial empires, Smith was also active in local and national politics. From 1855 to 1858, he served on London’s city council and, in 1866, was briefly acting mayor. In the 1860s, Smith was a Reformer (Liberal) and was instrumental in forming the Catholic Convention, in 1867, and later, the Ontario Catholic League, to advance the political rights of Irish Catholic voters.

John A. Macdonald, leader of the Liberal-Conservative Party, and Prime Minister of Canada, recognized the need for his party to tap the Irish Catholic vote. He needed an Irish Catholic lieutenant to do it. In 1871, Macdonald had Smith appointed to the Canadian Senate, as a Liberal-Conservative, a turning of political stripe that was recognized as nothing more than Smith’s “self-interest,” according to the Irish Canadian, the leading Irish Catholic weekly of the day.

As a senator, Smith worked assiduously for, and was acknowledged as, the advocate for both the Irish Catholic community and for retailers seeking advantages in the Canadian marketplace. Shortly after his appointment he argued for the release of Fenian prisoners from Canadian jails, as a way for Macdonald to win sympathy and support within the Irish Catholic community. Smith himself was neither a Fenian sympathizer nor a supporter of Irish politicians who toured Canada to gain support for causes back in Ireland. During the controversial visit of William O’Brien in 1887, Smith made it clear that such agitators threatened to split the Irish community and interfere with “the happiness of Catholic people in Canada,” who were “true subjects” of the crown enjoying equality offered to all Canadians.

From 1882 to 1891 Smith served as Minister Without Portfolio in Macdonald’s cabinet and solicited patronage positions for Irish Catholics across all government ministries and served as an intermediary between the Catholic hierarchy and the government. True to his business roots, however, he strongly supported and became a major investor in the Canadian Pacific Railway, to which he became a supplier despite the obvious conflict of interest. He also opposed the Canada Temperance Act, primarily to defend the distilling industry in Canada. For his service to Canada, he was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1894.

Smith was a political survivor in Ottawa. When Macdonald died in 1891, the new prime minister, Sir John Abbott, appointed Smith Minister of Public Works, which gave him greater opportunities to extend patronage to his two favoured constituencies. When John Thompson Abbott's successor died, in 1894, the Governor General requested that Smith form a new government. Smith declined and his failing health may have been a factor. He did agree to join the new cabinet of Senator MacKenzie Bowell. This was evidence indeed of strange political bedfellows, with the Irish Catholic advocate serving under a former Grand Master of the Orange Lodge, but it was also indicative of the space that Canada allowed for the kind of cooperation that was impossible back in Ireland. Smith died of rheumatism in 1901 and left a legacy as one of Canada's leading businessmen and the Irish Catholic prime minister who never was.

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KIRKWOOD, ALEXANDER

Born: 1823, Belfast

Died: 1901, Toronto, Ontario

Author: Barry Conway

There are few places in Canada greener than Algonquin Park, but few know that an Orangeman was the driving force behind its creation. His name was Alexander Kirkwood, and though born in Belfast, he grew up a precocious farm boy near Ballymurphy in County Antrim. A voracious reader who translated French, Latin and Russian texts, Kirkwood also developed a keen and abiding passion for the natural sciences.

In 1846, young Alexander was all set to enter the Presbyterian ministry, but the Irish Famine put an end to that. Instead, Kirkwood found himself in the United States, initially in New York City but by 1852, crossing into British North America colonies, he settled south of Montreal.

There, Kirkwood joined the Colonial Bureau of Agriculture and by 1853, his bosses sent him off to Europe to report on the growth of flax and its manufacturing possibilities for Canada. As a result, Kirkwood, in his pamphlet, *Flax and Hemp*, argued that such crops could be commercially produced in Canada. He also proposed that milkweed and the Canadian nettle could also be raised as commercial crops.

His ideas found few takers.

Instead, having relocated once again, this time settling in Toronto to take up a new job with the provincial Crown Lands department, Kirkwood became a frequent contributor to leading Canadian newspapers and magazines.

A major turning point, however, came in his optimistic view of the average Canadian farmer's ability to take up new ideas, if not new crops. He had begun researching agricultural possibilities for Ontario crown lands. The result, published in 1878, was *The Undeveloped Lands in Northern & Western Ontario*. Co-written with his Irish Catholic colleague, Joseph J. Murphy, both tried to dispel the then popular belief, as they put it, that "settlement lands in Ontario were already exhausted."

Experience, however, would prove Kirkwood and Murphy's orange-and-green ideas of political economy positively wrong-headed. So, by the mid-1880s, Alexander Kirkwood again modified his thinking, taking up, instead, a new interest in conservation. It was beginning to make headlines throughout North America. For example, in 1872, Yellowstone National Park had been created in the U.S.A, and in 1887 the makings of the Canada Rocky Mountains Park in Banff, Alberta were well underway.

Kirkwood had witnessed first-hand the destruction of Ontario forest-cover by settlers, depletion of the great white-pine timber stands in the Upper Ottawa Valley, and declining fish and game stocks generally. He concluded Ontario needed to immediately reserve crown land for purposes other than agriculture or the timber industry.

So, in 1885 Kirkwood approached his political boss, the Ontario Crown Lands commissioner, Timothy Blair Pardee, a member of Ontario's provincial parliament. But Pardee appeared to take little notice of his bureaucratic underling.

Undaunted, a year later Kirkwood published at his own expense an open letter to Mr. Pardee. In it, Kirkwood said: "Sir: I had the honor to address you last year on the subject of setting apart and maintaining a portion of the public domain in Ontario for a National Forest and Park to be called Algonkin Forest and Park. In the present communication, I propose to show the necessity for such an institution, and to describe its locality at greater length."

After a shrewd argument, Kirkwood ended his missive: "The Commissioner of Crown Lands who establishes Algonkin Forest and Park raises a monument that will not crumble nor decay, and his memory will be cherished in the warmest corner of many hearts. I have the honour to be, Sir, Your obedient servant, A. KIRKWOOD."

Belfast's prodigy of natural science and forest conservation had concluded that there was no better place than Ontario to set aside a bit of Canadian green. In fact, Kirkwood used everything from hard science to sweet prose to make his case of reserving 330,000 acres of prime Ontario forest and 60,000 acres of its pristine waters for a new provincial park.

Essentially, Kirkwood had built upon an earlier idea that had justified crown parkland being set aside as a way to manage the forest and conserve watersheds. Uniquely, Kirkwood broadened that idea considerably by adding recreational uses and the protection of wildlife as new motivating forces.

Still, it would take seven long years before Kirkwood's idea found political support. In 1892, Ontario appointed a royal commission which named Kirkwood as chair. Within a few short months, it handed in its final commission report and by the Spring of 1893 the Ontario government create Algonquin Park.

Kirkwood's commission had reported back so quickly for one very good reason. While waiting those seven long years in the political wilderness for his real wilderness idea to come to fruition, Kirkwood had meticulously assembled and marshalled his significant research. He had carefully considered the 'ways and means' of setting up and managing such a Park as Algonquin.

And in so doing, Kirkwood anticipated every hurdle and objection to the creation of Algonquin Park and dealt with them all in a deftly Irish manner. He also knew that sometimes arguments are not won by facts and figures alone. Sometimes the velvet glove of poetry can help.

And so, at the head of Kirkwood's 1893 report, he cited an anonymous poem, 'A Treeless County' which remains today an especially prescient warning about man-made climate change:

*And men sat starving in the treeless waste,
Beside their treeless farms and empty marts
And wondered at the ways of Providence!*

Alexander Kirkwood had won the day. Not only did political movers and shakers buy into his idea of Algonquin Park, by May 1893 he also got big timber interests on his side as well.

They all knew that the little Orangeman spoke the truth about the greening of Canada.

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MCGEE, THOMAS D'ARCY

Born: 1825, Carlingford, Co. Louth

Died: 1868, Ottawa, Ontario

Author: David Wilson

Of all the Irish men and women who emigrated to Canada, none had a more remarkable career or made a more significant impact on the country than Thomas D'Arcy McGee. A poet, journalist, historian and politician, he was the author of more than a dozen books, the outstanding orator of his generation, and the youngest and most intellectually gifted of the Fathers of Confederation. His life was riven by contradictions: at various points he was a temperance advocate, a serial alcoholic, a moral force nationalist, a republican revolutionary, an ultra-conservative Catholic, a Canadian Reformer and a Liberal-Conservative cabinet minister. In his youth, he had been a republican revolutionary who proudly described himself as a "traitor to the British Crown"; after his death, he was praised as "one of the most eloquent advocates of British rule and British institutions ... on the face of the globe." Yet there were also deeper consistencies; his program for a "new nationality" in Canada – a program that inspired a new generation of Canadian nationalists – reproduced the central ideas that had informed the moral force nationalism that he had initially developed in Ireland.

Born in Carlingford in 1825, McGee moved to Wexford eight years later; his mother was killed in a coach accident en route to their new home. When his father remarried, there were major tensions between the children and their stepmother. To escape the situation, the seventeen-year old McGee moved to the United States, where he secured a job writing for the Boston Pilot, the leading Irish American newspaper in the country. His writings and speeches in support of temperance and Irish independence were so impressive that two years later he was made editor of the paper – at the age of nineteen.

His achievements in the United States attracted the attention of nationalist supporters of Daniel O'Connell in Ireland, and they invited him back home to work for the O'Connellite Freeman's Journal. Before long, though, McGee joined the Young Ireland movement that embraced cultural nationalism as means to revive the "spirit of Ireland," and that injected new energy into the nationalist movement. Against the background of the Irish Famine and the wave of revolutions sweeping through Europe in 1848, Young Ireland broke with O'Connell and began to prepare for an Irish revolution – and McGee moved with them. By the summer of 1848, McGee adopted views that were virtually indistinguishable from those of the Fenians a decade later: he advocated separatist republicanism, an alliance with

agrarian secret societies, the abolition of landlordism, and a revolution not only in Ireland but also in Canada.

After the failure of the Young Ireland rising, McGee escaped to the United States with a price on his head, started up his own newspaper, and continued to make the case for revolution. Gradually, though, he began to change his mind. There were two different lessons that could be drawn from the failure of the rising. One – eventually adopted by the Fenians – was to establish a more effective underground organization and get it right the next time. The other – eventually adopted by McGee – was that given the power imbalance between Britain and Ireland, revolution was bound to fail. Once he had taken this position, he turned against revolution in favour of reform – losing many of his former colleagues in the process.

At the same time, McGee was becoming increasingly alienated from the American way of life. The United States, in his view, was characterized by a constant nervous excitement, the breakdown of the family, celebrity culture, guns on the street, and intense prejudice against Irish Catholic immigrants, many of whom were trapped in urban squalor. Becoming increasingly disillusioned with Protestant America, he reacted by embracing an extreme form of ultramontane Catholicism. In the process, he became one of the most conservative Catholics on the continent – and it was this disillusionment and this Catholic conservatism that drew his eyes northwards to Canada. Even though it was in the British Empire, he reasoned, Canada was a place where most Irish Catholics were not mired in urban poverty and not subject to the same kind of nativist hostility that existed in the United States. And – of particular importance to someone with two young daughters – it was a place where Catholics could be educated in their own schools. “The British flag does indeed fly here,” he wrote, “but it casts no shadow.”

Moving to Canada in 1857, he shifted towards a more liberal position, although he was uncompromising in his efforts to improve separate school legislation in the country. As a journalist and then as a politician, he set out his vision for British North America – a confederated country, balancing British order with American liberty and minority rights with majority rule. Just as he had argued in his Young Ireland days, literature, art and music would create a new national identity, protective tariffs would foster domestic manufacturers, and railways would bring people closer together.

In Canada, McGee stood for a tolerant, generous-spirited, open-minded and compassionate society in which minority rights were respected and protected, and he delivered inspirational speeches about the country’s potential. He also took a strong stand against the militants in his midst, whether they

were extreme Orange Protestants or Irish Canadian Fenians who supported an American-based invasion of his adopted country.

McGee played a leading role in promoting the cause of Confederation, both in his speeches and in the goodwill tour of the Maritime provinces that he organized in 1864 (described by one of his enemies as “the big Intercolonial Drink”). During the negotiations in Quebec over the constitutional structure of the new state, he ensured that minority religious rights would be safeguarded. “So far as I know,” he later wrote, “this is the first Constitution ever given to a mixed people, in which the conscientious rights of the minority, are made a subject of formal guarantee. I shall never cease to remember with pleasure that I was the first proposer of that guarantee in the Quebec conference; a guarantee by which we have carried the principle of equal and reciprocal toleration a step farther than it has yet been carried, in any other free government – American or European.”

McGee’s uncompromising opposition to the Fenians won him many admirers in the country, but also made him many enemies in the Irish Catholic community. As the anger of his enemies intensified, the number of death threats increased. On April 7 1868, McGee was shot in the back of the head, almost certainly by a freelance Fenian who regarded him as a traitor to Ireland. The day after his assassination, John A Macdonald, struggling to repress extreme emotion, described McGee as “a martyr to the cause of his country” – his adopted country, Canada. A week later, on what would have been his 43rd birthday, his funeral was held in Montreal. Eighty thousand people lined the streets.

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MURPHY, MICHAEL

Born: 1826, Co. Cork

Died: 1868, Buffalo, New York

Author: David Wilson

Described by one contemporary as a “small man of slight build, sharp features, [and] dark beard,” and by one of his enemies as a charismatic figure “with much mother wit and great sturdiness of character,” Michael Murphy became the head of the Fenian Brotherhood in Canada during the 1860s. Born in Cork in 1826, he came to Toronto as a young boy, worked as a cooper, and eventually operated his own tavern on Market Street West.

His involvement with Fenianism began after a St Patrick’s Day riot in Toronto in 1858, during which an Irish Catholic, Matthew Sheady, was killed. In response, he established the Hibernian Benevolent Society, which was intended to defend Irish Catholics from Orange aggression. Within a year, it became the nucleus of the Fenian Brotherhood in Toronto, and subsequently throughout the United Province of Canada. Not all members of the Hibernian Benevolent Society were Fenians, and many were drawn to it through the social and sporting activities that Murphy helped to organize – annual excursions to Niagara Falls, rowing matches against the English Canadian Shakespeare Club, football and hurling games. The Society also functioned as a mutual aid organization, looking after those of its members who were in need.

From this base, Murphy was able to increase his influence among Toronto’s Irish Catholic community. He was not a man to be crossed. On one occasion, he threatened to break the nose of someone who stated that his tavern was the centre of a secret society. On another, during an election contest in the city, he struck the leader of the Reform Party and editor of the Globe newspaper, George Brown, on the back of his head with a cudgel, and struck him when he was down.

In 1863, Murphy became one of the provisional directors of the newly formed Irish Canadian newspaper, which combined declarations of loyalty to Canada with condemnations of British rule in Ireland. As the newspaper extended its reach, Murphy travelled to Hamilton, Ottawa, Montreal and Quebec City, spreading the revolutionary gospel and encouraging the formation of other Hibernian Societies that could operate as Fenian front organizations.

Despite his professed loyalty to Canada, Murphy initially supported the American Fenians who were advocating an invasion of the country. At a Fenian Convention in Philadelphia in 1865, he declared that 100,000 Irish Canadians were prepared to support an invasion, and that they eagerly “anticipated

striking a blow before Christmas.” He made equally extravagant claims at St Patrick’s Day celebrations in Toronto, claiming that 20,000 Irish Canadians would gladly shed their blood in the cause of Irish freedom, doubling the number the following year, and asserting that a million Irish lives would be worth paying as the price of national liberation.

But when the Head Centre of the Fenian Brotherhood in the United States, John O’Mahony, pulled back from the invasion strategy, precipitating a split within the movement, Murphy pulled back with him. In March 1866, when the Canadian authorities feared that an invasion was scheduled for St Patrick’s Day, Murphy agreed to ensure that everything remained peaceful in the city.

At the end of the month, however, everything changed. O’Mahony, fearing that he was losing support to the pro-invasion wing of the Brotherhood, decided to launch an attack on Campobello Island in New Brunswick, and called for recruits in Toronto. Murphy answered the call, only to be arrested en route along with six other Fenians and held in Cornwall jail. They were all confident that they would be released. Although they had been carrying revolvers, dirks, around \$1,000 and a cipher, they had not actually done anything illegal. In Cornwall jail, they could be heard singing songs such as the newly popular “No Irish Need Apply,” and in court Murphy was so talkative that his defence lawyer tried to shut him up. Their confidence was not misplaced; the authorities searched desperately for incriminating evidence, only to be met with a wall of silence. When they tried to get hold of the Hibernian Benevolent Society’s books, they discovered that all the pages had been ripped out. And when they searched Murphy’s tavern, his wife had already ensured that nothing could be found.

After the prosecution successfully requested that the case should be held over until the fall, so that more information against the defendants could be found, Murphy and his fellow prisoners decided to break out of the jail. Tunnelling their way under one of its walls, they made their escape under the cover of a storm, found a boat, and crossed Lake Ontario to the United States and freedom. They were greeted as heroes by enthusiastic Irish American crowds as they travelled by rail to Buffalo, and before long Murphy was a guest of honour at a Fenian Convention in Troy. In Canada, the government was secretly relieved that the men had escaped; there was not enough evidence to secure convictions, and the collapse of the case would have been a significant propaganda coup for the Fenians.

Settling in Buffalo, Murphy opened up a tavern, the Irish Arms. Over the next eighteen months, however, his health began to deteriorate, and he died of tuberculosis in April 1868, four days after the assassination of Thomas D’Arcy McGee. Like McGee, Murphy was forty-two years old; unlike McGee, he did not have a massive funeral with tens of thousands in attendance. But Murphy was not forgotten, either. His body was brought back to Toronto, where a large crowd met the train that

carried his remains, and the streets were lined with Irish Canadian admirers as his coffin was carried to St Michael's Cathedral.

Eleven years later, when the internationally-renowned Fenian Thomas Francis Bourke came to Toronto, he made a point of visiting Murphy's grave, and expressed his admiration for that "grand old patriot." In the public talk that followed, Bourke told his audience that he was "willing to die for such a grand old land as Ireland is," and that "England would be the better of a deal of blood-letting." Michael Murphy would doubtless have approved.

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MACOUN, JOHN

Born: 1831, Magheralin, Co. Down

Died: 1920, Sidney, British Columbia

Author: Nicolas McCarthy

Born in Magheralin, County Down, Ireland in 1831, John Macoun was the son of a soldier who died when John was six years old. Macoun was raised on family land that had been granted to one of his father's ancestors almost two centuries earlier for military service. It was an ideal setting for a boy with an insatiable curiosity, and he developed a great passion for the outdoors and the natural world.

His education at the parochial school of the Presbyterian Church strengthened this faith in his capabilities. Macoun was a pompous young man who considered himself morally superior. As well, he was prepared to fight for his beliefs, confident that he would prevail. By the time he had assumed a clerk's position in Belfast, in his teens, he also held the same values as his fellow Ulstermen: allegiance to the crown, dedication to union with Britain, and support for the Conservative party and the Orange order.

In 1850, the family left Ireland for Upper Canada, settling on Seymour Township near Anne Macoun's brother. Six years later Macoun became a school teacher and taught at several country schools before attending Normal School in Toronto and obtaining a position at Belleville, Ontario, in 1860.

An intense boyhood interest in natural history remained with Macoun when he came to Canada and he continued his studies of botany, including his practice of studying plant life in the field. His correspondence with expert botanists revealed to them his great knowledge of the subject. As a result, in 1868 he was appointed professor of natural history at Belleville's Albert College.

While in the Georgian Bay area on one of his field trips, Macoun met Sir Sandford Fleming, who was surveying possible routes for a railway that would cross Canada. Fleming invited Macoun to participate in the surveys with a view to assessing various terrains for their suitability for agriculture. Macoun's subsequent work with Fleming came to the attention of the director of the Geological Survey of Canada who offered Macoun a similar position with the Survey.

In 1875, Macoun was the botanist of a Geological Survey expedition that explored the Peace River and the Rockies and from 1879 to 1881, he explored the prairie regions. Following a later survey of the Yukon Territory he predicted that even in such northern latitudes farming would be possible.

Like other explorers of the Geological Survey, Macoun was an avid collector of specimens and the need for storage and display areas for the Survey's collections led in 1911 to the construction in Ottawa of the Victoria Memorial Museum, now the Museum of Nature. From his collections of plants and his field notes Macoun prepared a seven-part catalogue of Canadian plants, published from 1883 to 1902. In addition, from his bird collections and field notes came a three-part catalogue of Canadian birds, published from 1900 to 1904.

A fine lecturer, Macoun held the interest of his audiences through a combination of vast knowledge, oratorical skills and a keen sense of humour. He was a popular speaker at meetings of the Ottawa Literary and Scientific Society, and he was one of the founders of the Ottawa Field Naturalists' Club, serving for a time as its president in 1886–87. His home at 98 James Street was often a popular gathering place for evening discussions. Through his association with some of the country's leading scientists, he was named a charter-member of the Royal Society of Canada in 1882 and he was a regular visitor at the governor general's residence.

Macoun's feverish rounds of activity and travel came to an abrupt end in 1912, when he suffered a paralytic stroke and, with his ailing wife, moved to Sidney on Vancouver Island to live with their eldest daughter. Even then, however, he did not retire completely from the GSC. Right up until his death in 1920, he continued to submit reports and collect specimens along the coast, in addition to working on his autobiography.

John Macoun died 18 July 1920 in Sidney, British Columbia and was buried in the cemetery at Patricia Bay, British Columbia where his wife had been buried. However, in 1922 their remains were removed to Beechwood Cemetery for burial (Section 39, Lot 73 S) near their son James Melville Macoun, who had worked for the Geological Survey as an assistant to his father. Macoun marsh, on the cemetery's property, is named for him

When John Macoun came to Canada in 1850, he entered a vast and largely unmapped land whose resources were largely unknown. As a member of Canada's first scientific agency he earned the title "the enthusiastic explorer of unknown Canada" and his discoveries revealed much of the nature of Canada's plant and animal life.

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Photo Credit:

Macoun, John Apr. 17, 1832 - July 18, 1920. Source: Library and Archives Canada/MIKAN 3436702

John Macoun and young friend examining bird's nest and egg. Source: Library and Archives Canada/MIKAN 3193103

John Macoun Lot, Beechwood Cemetery Section 39, Lot 73 S, Beechwood Cemetery Foundation Archives

BOYLE, PATRICK

Born: 1832, Newport, Co. Mayo

Died: 1901, Toronto, Ontario

Author: William Jenkins

If Toronto's Catholics of Irish origin were polled in 1900 to choose whom they felt was their most effective lay spokesman to date, most would have likely put journalist and publisher Patrick Boyle at the top of their list, including those who disagreed with him. Boyle spent most of his adult life in Toronto, helping to build a cohesive sense of community and identity among the city's Irish Catholics, while simultaneously seeking to shape local opinion on matters relating to Irish nationalist politics and society.

Boyle emigrated to the United States with his family in 1844 and came to Toronto in 1846, in time to witness the dramas associated with the Irish famine migration and the rise of sectarian tensions between Catholics and the Protestant majority, and especially members of the Orange Order. He learned the printing trade in the office of the *Globe*, then the leading daily newspaper and, anxious to help advance local Catholic fortunes, joined the Young Men's St Patrick's Association in 1855. Boyle later took his printing talents to New York and then New Orleans before returning to Toronto at the beginning of the American Civil War.

Boyle joined the Hibernian Benevolent Society (HBS), an organization formed in 1858 that favoured an assertive expression of Catholic Irish identity in the city. While the HBS offered a range of social and cultural activities, it was infiltrated by the New York-based Fenian Brotherhood, a secret revolutionary organization committed to establishing an Irish republic by force. In 1863, when Boyle was secretary, he became co-publisher and editor of a HBS-financed weekly newspaper, the *Irish Canadian*, later becoming sole publisher. Early editorials used melodramatic nationalist language to recount past and present English "despotism" and "tyranny" in Ireland. Although Boyle issued repeated demands for Irish self-government in editorials, he stopped short of advocating a republican ideal given the reality of his Canadian location. Behind the scenes, however, Boyle privately sold Fenian bonds to advance the cause of revolution in Ireland, though he opposed the idea of Fenians invading Canada and denounced the border raids of 1866 as futile and injurious to Irish Catholics.

The Fenian alarm of the mid-1860s and the assassination of Thomas D'Arcy McGee in 1868 intensified suspicion of the HBS and its *Irish Canadian* mouthpiece. Boyle, now HBS president, was arrested and jailed along with his co-publisher and brother-in-law James Hynes in connection with potential

involvement in McGee's murder. Following his release on a technicality, the Irish Canadian returned, although HBS membership rolls suffered. Boyle was unenthusiastic by Canadian Confederation in 1867, and with the failure of Fenianism, he channeled his energies once more into projects geared towards the cultural and political uplift of Toronto's Catholic Irish. He was a co-founder of the Ontario Catholic League in 1869, which sought to improve Catholic political representation at the provincial and federal levels. Here, the Irish Canadian supported Alexander Mackenzie's federal Liberals in the early 1870s, but later accepted funding from John A. Macdonald's Conservatives when hoped-for Liberal patronage did not materialize. Brian Clarke describes Boyle as an "accomplished chameleon, who shifted his views and tactics as the situation demanded."

Boyle was now widely known and an influential voice within and beyond Toronto's Catholic Irish circles, though he was not an elite figure. Nor did he seek such status. His dealings with the powerful Archbishop of Toronto, John Joseph Lynch, illustrated wider struggles between laity and clergy for leadership of the city's Catholic Irish community in the 1870s and 1880s. Boyle and Lynch's party-political preferences did not always align, and Boyle defended lay autonomy in the management of Toronto's Separate (Catholic) School Board. In 1888, for example, the Irish Canadian backed the Irish nationalist-minded members of the Board who demanded the use of ballots in school-board elections to ensure that Lynch would not interfere in the voting.

Although Boyle and Lynch both retained an interest in Irish political developments through these decades, Boyle's public articulations of his Irish nationalist outlook retained a defiant edge. He denounced "West Britonism" among Toronto's Irish Catholics and was underwhelmed by Isaac Butt's proposals for Irish Home Rule in the early 1870s. He was more taken by agitators such as the maverick Fenian Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa and Charles Stewart Parnell, Butt's successor, whom he welcomed to the city in 1878 and 1880 respectively. Boyle then became vice-president of the Toronto Land League in 1880, formed in the wake of Parnell's visit. By 1885, when Home Rule became the avowed goal of Irish nationalists on both sides of the Atlantic, Boyle joined Toronto's branch of the Irish National League. In the 1890s, the latest arrival on Toronto's Catholic associational scene, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, welcomed Boyle into its ranks. It was an appropriate outlet for his devout Catholicism and enduring interest in Ireland.

While Boyle's interest in Irish affairs never wavered, he had come to see himself as a loyal Canadian. He was, however, ambivalent at best about the link to Britain that was fervently cherished by most English-Canadians, and often critical of the British Empire. Although the Irish Canadian flourished for most of its existence, with no party-political financial backing and a dwindling readership, operations ceased in 1892, and Boyle became the printer and business manager of its replacement, the Catholic

Register. In 1900, Boyle sought once again to make a success of the Irish Canadian, but this venture ended in financial disaster. This reflected the wider generational transition within Irish Catholic Toronto and the fact that far fewer people were now animated by Irish homeland issues in a city where imperial fervour reigned supreme.

Boyle married Bridget Ellen Hynes of Cornwall, Ontario, and their family numbered three daughters and a son. Boyle was predeceased by his wife and son and was living with daughter Harriet when he died suddenly of heart failure on August 1, 1901. Within weeks of his burial, an assortment of friends and associates set up a fund to provide for his unmarried daughter.

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EATON, TIMOTHY

Born: 1834, Clogher, Antrim, Ireland

Died: 1907, Toronto, Canada

Author: Mark G. McGowan

For more than a century an annual Santa Claus Parade, a catalogue mail order service, and a national network of department stores became Canadian icons under the name “Eatons.” It is hard to believe that Canada’s most noted mercantile business empire began with a young lad apprenticing in a general store in Portglenone, County Antrim. Timothy Eaton was born near Ballymena, the youngest of nine children to John Eaton and Margaret Craig, the descendants of Scottish emigrants to Ulster. John Eaton died before Timothy was born, and his mother and siblings struggled to maintain the farm. The situation became graver during the Famine, when Margaret had to sell off their cattle to pay the rent on their farm. She also withdrew Timothy from the local National School and taught him at home. The young Eaton began five years of employment at Portglenone, to earn his keep in a local general store to help the family and save for his passage to Canada, where several of his siblings had already settled. In 1854, at the age of twenty, he ventured to what was then the Huron Tract, in Canada West/Ontario, and began keeping the account books for a general store in Glen Williams. After some initial work with his brothers’ retail at Kirkton, he became a partner in J & T Eaton’s General Store in St. Mary’s, which stocked groceries, baked goods, and dry goods, and served as the local post office.

Timothy’s claim to fame was his eschewing of tabs and long-term credit to customers at his store, demanding instead cash-only sales. He maintained this principle of retail during his entire life, in addition to refusing to sell alcohol, a reflection of his teetotaling Methodism, a faith he embraced in 1858, although he had been raised Presbyterian. His third retail principle was fixed prices in his shops, to avoid customers haggling with him over merchandise. He also became known as a businessman who would offer refunds if the customer was not satisfied with the product. Eaton became known for his honesty in business practices, once stating “Promise them not only bargains but that every article would be found just what it is guaranteed to be. Use no deception in the smallest degree—nothing you cannot defend before God or Man.”

In 1869 he moved to Toronto and put these business ethics into play in his dry goods store on Front Street, in the lower quarter of the shopping district. The area was not the “fashion district” of the city, which sent a message to consumers that “all classes” were welcome and would be treated equally with fixed prices for all goods. In time he expanded the retail operations in the city and by his death, in 1907, his flagship store on upper Yonge Street encompassed an entire city block and was the

ultimate department store including grocery items, books, clothing, appliances, restaurants, parcel check-in, pharmacy, furniture, and repair services. His retail empire spread across Canada first to Winnipeg, and later with stores in most of Canada's major cities. In 1891, the incorporated T Eaton Company had a capitalization of \$500,000 and by 1907, his payroll included 9,000 men and women. Eaton's religious beliefs and his strong support of the family unit lay behind his hours and days of operation. Each store was required to close at 5 pm each day so that employees could rejoin their families for the evening meal. There were early closings on Saturdays to allow employees leisure time, and stores were closed for the Sunday sabbath. To maintain a competitive edge with his reduced hours, Eaton became known for highly successful Friday Bargain Days, which diverted weekend shoppers with the hope of packing his stores before Saturday.

Yet, there was a less than benevolent underside to Eaton's growing mercantile Empire. To reduce dependence on middlemen, Eaton developed a horizontal supply chain where many of the products marketed in his stores, were manufactured and prepared by his own subsidiaries and farms. This included "putting out" the manufacture of clothing to families who did piece work at home, without regulated hours, wages that were based on pieces produced, and uninspected working conditions. Home-based garment production also helped to avoid unionization, which he opposed. Many of those in the Eaton-financed sweating system lived in the slum known as St. John's Ward, in the shadow of his flagship store.

When working in Ireland he had learned that service to customers also included delivering goods to their door. In 1884, Eaton went one step further and initiated a catalogue service, through which clients could select an item of their choice, ensure cash payment, and have the item delivered to their homes. The Eaton's catalogue became a fixture in many homes, particularly in Canada's predominantly rural and small-town society. The catalogues have become a piece of Canadiana, particularly the Christmas Wish Book whose arrival in the early autumn was eagerly awaited by children across the country.

In 1905, Eaton's introduced the first Santa Claus Parade, a magical marketing effort that involved a spectacular parade in the streets of Toronto, complete with St. Nick, leading onlookers to shop for Christmas at the retail outlets. The parade caught on in Montreal and Winnipeg and became the inspiration for the famous Macey's Thanksgiving Day Parade in New York. It is still a fixture in Toronto in late November, although it is now a public spectacle operating independently of any retailer.

When Eaton died in 1907, he was the undisputed retail king of Canada. The Globe (1 February 1907) described him as holding the "foremost place among the leaders of the modern commercial revolution." Other eulogies regarded him as "a man of the people", "trustworthy," "a man of strict

integrity,” and “fair” in his treatment of employees. It is estimated that a cortege of 200 carriages accompanied his casket through the streets of Toronto to Mount Pleasant Cemetery. The shop apprentice from Antrim had emerged as, according to the Toronto Telegram “the genius that revolutionized the retail commerce of Canada.”

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O'REILLY SISTERS

Helena (1835-1893), Bridget (1838-1880) and Mary Anne (1840-1925)

Born: Cork City, Co. Cork

Died: Sherbrooke and Quebec City, Quebec, Canada

Author: Jillian van Turnhout

A neglected story from the Great Famine spotlights three children who arrived in Canada from Ireland and were orphaned in 1847. About 1,700 orphaned Irish children arrived in British North America during the Famine, many faced great hardships whilst others were fortunate to benefit from the kindness of people in their new homeland.

In the early 1830s in Cork city, Ireland, Thomas O'Reilly married Margaret Barry, and we know they had at least four children. In 1847 they packed up their lodging house at 37 Georges Street (now Oliver Plunkett Street) to emigrate. The O'Reilly family departed Cork on 19 May 1847 on a ship called Avon bound for Quebec City, then the main port in Canada. A Cork Examiner article from 13 August 1847 reported that: "The Avon, of Cork was still worse – a real plague ship. The day before she reached quarantine the last five or six of her crew, who had borne up against contagion and feebly worked her along, were brought down and scarcely one of the passengers was able to help himself to the necessity of life."

Upon arrival on 18 July 1847, the Avon reached the quarantine station at Grosse Ile, an island northeast of Quebec City that had been designated as a quarantine station since 1832. One of the O'Reilly children was amongst the 136 who had died during the voyage. Their mother Margaret was quarantined and later died from what we now know as typhus on Grosse Île between 18 and 24 July 1847.

On 25 July the Avon was released, arriving a day later in Quebec City carrying Thomas and his surviving three daughters. However, Grosse Île was overwhelmed. Travellers were released too early and spread their diseases among the local population. Sadly, on 24 September Thomas O'Reilly died at age 48 in the Hôpital de la Marine. In the space of two months in 1847, the three sisters lost both parents and a sibling.

It is estimated that in 1847-1848 alone at least 700 children arrived as orphans in Quebec City. From the Catholic Orphanage's register of 19 August 1847, we know that when Thomas became ill, 'The Charitable Society of Catholic Ladies' looked after the two younger girls, Bridget and Mary Anne. Four

days after their father's death on 28 September, the girls were joined in the orphanage by their sister Helena.

Two days later, on 30 September 1847, their case was brought before Judge Phillipe Panet. A group of local businessmen (no women) appoint Patrick McGauran as guardian to "Helena, aged twelve, Bridget, aged approximately nine and Mary Anne, aged approximately seven". From records, his role was administrative, he would look after some money Thomas had left. Patrick's brother was Father Bernard McGauran who in 1847 led a group of priests on Grosse Île to care for the sick. Bernard would later co-found a home to care for Irish orphans, widows and immigrants.

With thanks to their father's money, the three girls were enrolled in the 'Sisters of the Augustinian Monastery' boarding school, which offered bilingual education. The girls seemed to do well in the school, as newspapers show they regularly win prizes for excelling in various subjects. The Augustinian Sisters subsequently took the girls into their community. Father Charles-Felix Cazeau, who was appointed by Archbishop Joseph Signay to oversee orphan placements likely played a role in securing the welfare of the sisters. Helena and Bridget would later pay homage to him: Helena adopted his name, and Bridget would name one of her children after him.

Helena, the eldest sister, at age 19 in March 1855 became a novice in the order that had taken her into their care. She took the veil in September of that year and entered the order as a nun in September 1856. Sister Hélène of Saint-Félix worked as an auxiliary teacher in the boarding school of the order, until it closed in 1868, after which she worked in the order's administration. In 1882 she was the author of a book on the history of her order: "Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier and the General Hospital of Quebec". She died on 24 February 1893, only 56 years old, after several years of illness.

Bridget Georgina was baptised on 22 November 1838 in Cork, Ireland. On 20 August 1860, she married Michael Thomas Stenson, in Quebec City. He later went on to become a one-term MP. In the 1860s they lived in Montreal. By 1871 they are in Wotton and by the time of her death they are in Sherbrooke. They had ten children together. Bridget died on 5 December 1880 and is buried in 'Cimetière Saint-Michel' in Sherbrooke. Her death notice, in *Le Courrier du Canada*, reads "Death, which reaps incessantly and silently, has suddenly struck a very precious existence in the person of Mrs. Bridget Georgiana O'Reilly [...] She succumbed on the 5th of the current, at the age of 37, to attacks of a heart disease which had already put her several times on the edge of the grave."

In 1871, Mary Anne O'Reilly, the youngest of the sisters, was a teacher, living with two families and servants in Bonaventure. In 1886 she passed the Civil Service exam and on 25 February 1892 became a 3rd class clerk in the Quebec post office. By 1921, she has retired and was living in Saint-Sauveur,

another religious institute in Québec City. She died on 27 March 1925 in Quebec City and was interred in Sherbrooke, where her sister Bridget was buried.

It is unimaginable the distress faced by Helena, Bridget and Mary Anne in 1847, and yet they were among the fortunate as their parents left a small amount of money to secure their education. The death notices for both Helena and Bridget indicate a life plagued by health issues, and perhaps all of this led Mary Anne, 1906, to endow a small foundation with \$1000 to ensure a bed for a poor sick person was always made available at the hospital run by the Augustinian Sisters. After serving many elderly patrons, the foundation was officially closed in 1948.

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TIGHE SIBLINGS

Daniel (1835-1924) and Catherine (1838-1898)

Born: Lisonuffy Parish, Roscommon

Died: Lotbinière, Quebec

Author: Mark G. McGowan

The stories of siblings Daniel and Catherine Tighe touch one of the greatest tragedies of the Great Irish Famine (1845-1852). The Tighe children were among nearly 1,700 Famine orphans who arrived between 1847 and 1848 in the ports of Canada and New Brunswick. Daniel and Catherine were among five children born to Bernard Tighe and Mary Kelly, a tenant family tending to a few acres on the estate of Major Denis Mahon, at Strokestown, County Roscommon. When the potato crop in Ireland failed for the second consecutive year, in 1846, the Tighes were left destitute and unable to pay their rent. The family's situation was made more desperate when Bernard died, leaving Mary to fend for her children alone and penniless.

Despite efforts to erect a soup kitchen, offer loans to his tenants, and distribute free maize to those in need, Major Mahon's 12,000-acre estate could not sustain the more than 11,000 tenants who resided in its 62 townlands. Mahon inherited the estate in 1845, the first year of the blight, with a debt of £35,000 which hampered his efforts to improve lands and conditions at Strokestown. Upon the recommendation of his estate agent, John Ross Mahon (no relation), an emigration scheme was hatched. Tenants who volunteered to leave the estate and topple their cabins, would have their debt erased and would be compensated for their chattels, livestock, and other crops. Mahon would then provide free transportation and provisions from Strokestown to Liverpool, and then to Quebec, where it was anticipated they would begin new lives in Upper Canada (now Ontario). Mary Tighe opted for the scheme and joined her brother William Kelly, who took charge of the Tighe's and joined them on board the Naomi, one of the four ships chartered by Mahon, to take 1,490 tenants (241 families) from Liverpool to Quebec.

The 56-day voyage of the Naomi across the Atlantic was terrifying. Nearly half of the ship's 421 steerage passengers died at sea or in quarantine at Grosse Ile, Quebec. Of the 350 passengers on the Naomi from Mahon's estate, 126 did not survive to see Quebec City. Decades later, Daniel recounted to his grandson Leo the tragedy of his passage, who related it to historian Marianna O'Gallagher: "In 1847, Mary, widow of Bernard Tighe, left Ireland with her five children and her younger brother... The voyage was a long nightmare of eight weeks. Drinking water ran low and food was reduced to one

meal a day. Comfort and hygiene were non-existent. Typhus broke out on board, and the ship was ordered to stop at Grosse Île. Of Mary Tighe's family, only two children survived: Daniel (12), and Catherine (9). When the children left the ship, they never saw the other family members again, nor did they have any word about them." Daniel and Catherine were left alone in Quebec City.

Like other Irish orphans, the Society of Charitable Catholic Ladies of Quebec took the Tighes to their orphanage, where they were kept until placements could be found for them. Encouraged by the Archbishop of Quebec, local parish priests came to the orphanage and collected children to be "adopted" by families in their parish. Father Edward Faucher collected Daniel and Catherine, with eleven other children, and headed to Lotbinière, on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River, southwest of Quebec City. As he was depositing Daniel at the farm of a childless couple, François and Marie Coulombe, Catherine, fearing separation from her brother, put up such a commotion, that the Coulombes agreed to take them both. Daniel and Catherine laboured on the 168-acre farm, and when Daniel turned 18, the Coulombes had a notary prepare papers that would permit him to inherit the farm. Catherine remained with her brother for over fifteen years. She never married but left the farm to become housekeeper for Reverend E.P. Côté, and his elderly father at the nearby parish of Ste-Croix. She died in 1898.

Daniel never lost sense of his Irish heritage but quickly assimilated into French-Canadian rural society. He Frenchified his name to Tye, married Marie Virginie Labrecque, and took care of widowed François Coulombe. The Tyes had eleven children, three of whom, emigrated to California and set up businesses outside of Los Angeles. A fourth son, Alphonse remained on the farm and worked it with his father. During these years, and before his death in 1924, Daniel was able to impart the story of his emigration to his grandson Leo, who became the steward of the family's Irish past. Leo imparted the story to his son Richard, who became the fourth Tye generation to work the farm. In 2013, Jim Callery, proprietor of the Strokestown Park National Famine Museum, invited Richard to come to Ireland for the "Gathering" of the diasporic Irish. Richard's visit to Roscommon would bring the story of the Tighes full circle from their departure in 1847 to the homecoming 166 years later.

The stories of Daniel and Catherine Tighe represent the lives of so many Irish emigrants to Canada who lived ordinary lives without garnering much public attention or recognition. Their experience as surviving Famine orphans, however, was extraordinary, when compared to hundreds of other children who landed in Quebec. Famine orphans were never adopted because no legal adoption existed in British North America. Siblings were often separated; orphans were simply placed in French Canadian and Irish homes where they were used as domestic workers and manual labourers. Rarely was it reported to census takers that these children were considered family members. Some married into

Quebécois families, but most fled their placement at the first opportunity, seeking better lives elsewhere in Canada or the United States. Daniel and Catherine, however, remained sedentary, contributed to their communities, and, in Daniel's case, raised children and grandchildren who appeared to be French-Canadian, but never lost a sense of their Irish roots.

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DAVIN, NICHOLAS FLOOD

Born: 1843, Kilfinane, Co. Limerick

Died: 1901, Winnipeg, Manitoba

Author: Michele Holmgren

In the summer of 1885, Nicholas Flood Davin, the publisher of the *Regina Leader* (1883), announced the Canadian news story of the year: Louis Riel, the Métis politician and leader of the North-West Resistance, would be the subject of a “state trial; the trial of a leader in a rebellion.” “For a trial of such importance you have to go back to England to 1798,” declared the paper on 9 July, and compared Riel to the United Irishmen Wolfe Tone and Robert Emmett or the Young Irish leaders of 1848. After Riel was found guilty, Davin disguised himself as a priest and interviewed Riel a few nights before his execution. A century, an ocean, and nearly a continent removed from the United Irish Rising, Davin’s journalism and politics in the new political riding of Assiniboia West were informed by Irish history. As the first M.P. for the region, Davin used both his political influence and poetry to promote Western settlement, while his authorship of a government paper left a darker legacy: the Indigenous residential schools advocated in the Davin Report.

Born in Kilfinane, Co. Limerick in 1843, Davin briefly attended Queen’s College, Cork in 1864, before studying law in London, then becoming a war correspondent and Westminster parliamentary reporter, then editor of the short-lived *Belfast Times*. Arriving in Toronto in 1872, Davin wrote literary criticism for the *Toronto Globe* (and unsuccessfully defended its publisher’s murderer in 1880). After a debate against American “spread-eagles” in 1873, Davin’s published rebuttal, *British versus American Civilization*, influenced the founders of the Confederation School of Canadian poetry, and his series of Irish lives, *The Irishman in Canada* (1877), added to his reputation. In his criticism and in *Eos: An Epic of the Dawn and Other Poems* (1889), he argued that a national poetry based on British traditions was essential to maintaining Canada’s independence and progress.

Davin’s views on cultural progress are apparent even in the Davin Report, officially titled *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-breeds* (1879), a temporary patronage appointment awarded by John A. MacDonald. Davin reported on and visited several schools in the United States. Substituting evangelical fervor for bureaucratic prose, his report promotes Western settlement, which the schools were intended “to welcome and facilitate.” He created a tragic portrait of Indigenous people on the edge of extinction who had accepted that they must adapt and blend into what he believed was a superior culture that would be established on the prairies. He thus justified the removal of children from their families and communities to erase “the influence of the wigwam.”

Davin's sense of urgency was likely fuelled by the poverty and land wars in Ireland. In *The Irishman in Canada*, Davin had noted that Canada could be an answer to the Irish Question, since "land can be no apple of discord ... in a country where we open up provinces as men in the old country would open up a paddock." Once Indigenous and Metis people were contained on reserves, the Canadian Prairies could become "Homes for Millions." Even his epic *Eos* contrasts peaceful and bucolic Canadian scenes with the vision of well-dressed land agents "gutting huts" while "the aged palsied mother weeps," and "sons tall, strong with murderous eye survey the bailiff hard." The poem concludes with Indigenous people singing their culture's death-song while *Eos* commands her Celtic "bard" to "write an epic worthy of ...the Irish" who "have play'd a great part" in the westward expansion of "the great empire which is theirs no less/ than others." With that, the poet wakes from his "dream" to the sound of hammers building "the 'city' of a few weeks old" on "the monotonous plain." For Davin, British culture bore "the mark of an Irish chisel" that would continue to build "a young, a free, a great, a prosperous Canadian nation," thus benefitting Ireland by both opportunity and example. Arguing that Assiniboia West—"home of the buffalo ten or twelve years ago"—now enjoyed "more control over... local affairs than the millions of people of Ireland," Davin advocated a similar form of Home Rule in Ireland.

Davin's life closed in bitterness and disappointment. He never became a Cabinet minister, and he lost his seat in 1900. Losing his lifelong battle with alcoholism and dealing with unhappy personal relationships, he committed suicide on a visit to Winnipeg in 1901.

In *British versus American Civilization*, Davin predicted that "men will look back on our boasted nineteenth century with wondering pity and amused contempt." While he might have hoped to be celebrated by future generations as an architect of responsible government, many today look back on Davin as part of a cruel government campaign of eradication that Indigenous communities are still recovering from. Having once derided a *London Times* boast that "a Celtic Irishman" would soon be "as rare in Connemara as an Indian on the banks of the Manhattan," Davin seemed incapable of drawing parallels between the dispossession and cultural eradication endured by Irish and Indigenous peoples. In his poetic and political vision, the Irish were linked to the British empire and a peaceful Canadian future, while Indigenous people were linked to the violent Irish republicanism of the past.

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O'DONOGHUE, DANIEL

Born: 1844, Listry, Co. Kerry

Died: 1907 Toronto, ON

Author: Ken Clavette

The eldest son of John O'Donoghue and Catherine Flynn, Daniel immigrated to Canada in 1852 with his family. The death of his father led to his apprenticeship to a Bytown printer at age 13. Possessed of little or no formal schooling, he became a crucial part of the family economy, especially after his brother Morris migrated to the United States to enter the Union Army during the Civil War. While serving his apprenticeship, O'Donoghue joined the volunteer Fire-Brigade as a lamp-boy in 1860 and participated in the St Patrick's Literary Society.

Completing his apprenticeship, he found employment in Buffalo, NY, where he became a member of the Typographical Union. He returned to what was now Ottawa to a job at the Times. It was while working there he met and married Marie-Marguerite Cloutier, the daughter of a co-worker (Sept. 15, 1870). Together they had 11 children. The Times was also where he began his union organizing forming an Ottawa chapter of the ITU. From that point on O'Donoghue would play a key role in the young and growing national labour movement.

In 1872 local unions created the Ottawa Trades Council as their united voice and O'Donoghue became the founding secretary. The Council took up the fight for a "Mechanics Lien Act." The provincial government introduced legislation to guarantee wages of \$50 or more. "As much as six weeks' pay. Was this justice? Why the man would starve in that time," said O'Donoghue at a Toronto demonstration. The following day the bill was amended to delete the \$50 minimum.

When the Toronto printers struck in 1872 for the nine-hour day, the leaders were arrested and jailed. Unions were illegal and workers had no protection or independence from their employer. Under the "Masters and Servants" law a worker could not leave their place of employment without the owner's permission. Union members could be prosecuted under restraint of trade laws. Thanks in part to O'Donoghue, John A. Macdonald's government responded and legalized unions. Buoyed with confidence, O'Donoghue and the Ottawa Trades Council held the first official "labour" meeting with a Prime Minister in 1873. A bold act by workers intent on having their voices heard, their unions had only been legal for less than a year.

O'Donoghue attended the 1873 Montreal convention of the International Typographical Union (ITU) and was elected to the executive. The same year he took part in the formation of the first meeting of the Canadian Labour Union (CLU), becoming First Vice-President. The platform called for shorter

hours, end to the use of convict labour, the end of employment of children under ten years of age, end to immigration of ill-paid workers, a mechanics' lien act, and the enforcement of minimum standards for factories. It also called for public education, opposition to monopolies, and for direct labour representation. In addition, it requested a government bureau of statistics to provide information on wages and working conditions.

In 1874, the qualifications for the franchise allowed more workers to participate in elections. When an Ottawa by-election for a vacant Provincial seat was called, the Trades Council nominated O'Donoghue as their candidate. On January 20th, 1874, he won a landslide victory over his Liberal opponent as an independent "workingman's" candidate. When asked by fellow Irishman and constituent, Governor General Lord Dufferin, to identify himself, O'Donoghue replied, "Your Excellency, I represent the rag, tag and bobtail." At age 29, he was the first independent labour candidate elected to a legislature in Canada. In the general election the following year, O'Donoghue defeated Mayor Featherston, a Liberal, and John O'Connor, a former member of Macdonald's cabinet. Workers carried O'Donoghue through the streets of Ottawa stopping at the homes of Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie and Sir John A. Macdonald to show off their newfound strength. The labour movement had united Irish and French, Catholic and Protestant, breaking the hold of the old political parties.

O'Donoghue used his position in the Ontario Legislature to press for action on unemployment, conditions of work, the franchise, and opposing the importation of England's poor under the banner of "Home Children." O'Donoghue lost in the 1879 election, largely because of the economic collapse caused by the failure of several prominent US banks and railroads. The result of the "Long Depression" was the demise of the CLU, Trades Council, and all but one union in the city. Remaining in Toronto, O'Donoghue was active in establishing the Toronto Trades and Labour Council and the Dominion Trades and Labour Congress which formed the Canadian Labour Congress in 1956. As a delegate from the "Knights of Labor" he called for a public trades school and the nationalization of resources. The Knights were a broad-based labor organization that included both skilled and unskilled workers, of all races and genders. They demanded an eight-hour workday, abolition of child labour, equal pay for equal work, and safety regulations. They wanted economic and political reforms, including the establishment of worker cooperatives. O'Donoghue quickly became the chief Canadian lieutenant and as a Catholic dealt with Archbishop Taschereau of Quebec, who considered the Knights a "secret society."

As the labour movement strengthened once again. The Ontario Government established the Bureau of Industries, a forerunner of the Department of Labour. O'Donoghue was appointed an investigator and then, in 1885, the Bureau Clerk. His annual reports documented the working conditions in Ontario and developments in the union movement. In 1900, he was appointed to the first Federal Department of Labour as a Fair Wages Officer. He would ensure government contracts were set at "honest" rates and under "fair" working conditions. While a public servant he remained a Knight and became an advisor to federal workers who were looking to form a union. In 1907, these workers established the Civil Service Association (CSA), a forerunner of the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC). From his teens until his death from tuberculosis at 62, he was a pioneer in the Canadian labour movement. At his funeral the Deputy Minister of Labour, William Lyon Mackenzie King, gave the eulogy calling him the "Father" of the movement. Many other Irish immigrants to Canada would follow in his footsteps.

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CASHMAN, ELLEN

(Nellie Pioche / Irish Nellie)

Born: 1845, near Queenstown (Cobh), Co. Cork

Died: 1925, Victoria, British Columbia

Author: Charlene Parsild

Miner, prospector, philanthropist, and businesswoman; b. c. 1845 near Queenstown (Cobh, Republic of Ireland), daughter of Fanny Cashman; d. unmarried 4 Jan. 1925 in Victoria.

With thousands of other desperate Irish Catholic immigrants, Nellie Cashman came to Boston with her mother and sister about 1860. They then moved west, making their home in San Francisco in 1869. It was there that Nellie and her mother contracted mining fever and they soon left for the silver camps of Nevada, stopping in Virginia City, the Comstock, and Pioche. In 1872 the Cashmans opened the Miner's Boarding House in Pioche, a venture that marked the beginning of Nellie's lifelong pattern of operating a small business to support her mining ventures. After only a year in Pioche, Nellie, with an otherwise all-male party of 200 Nevada prospectors, headed for the remote Cassiar gold-mining district of northern British Columbia. There, she later told reporters, she "alternately mined and kept a boarding house for miners," which she ran through the summer of 1873. In the fall she relocated in Victoria, where she intended to winter in the milder climate of the coast.

While Cashman was sitting out the winter, news of a shortage of supplies and an outbreak of scurvy at a camp in the Cassiar incited her to action. After persuading six men to accompany her, she set out on a relief run against all odds. For 77 days they trudged through deep snow, surviving avalanches, extreme temperatures, and all manner of storms. Upon her arrival, Cashman nursed the scurvy victims and distributed food and supplies. She spent two years in the Cassiar, during which time she helped the Sisters of St Ann raise funds to build St Joseph's Hospital in Victoria [see Salomé Valois*]. Her heroic winter journey and her philanthropic commitment earned her the nicknames Miner's Angel and Angel of the Cassiar. Moreover, her colourful personality and quick wit established her as a favourite with journalists, who would follow her activities for many years. (Much of the information about her is difficult to verify because various newspapers reported wildly different stories.)

Cashman left the Cassiar in 1876 and toured the mining camps of the American west before arriving in 1879 in Tucson, in the Arizona Territory, to prospect and establish the Delmonico Restaurant. Tucson's boom was waning, however, and within a few months she pushed on to the new silver camp

of Tombstone. Here Irish Nellie funded her mining ventures with a series of businesses that included a boot and shoe store, a grocery, a restaurant, a boarding house, and a hotel.

As she had done in British Columbia, she balanced her businesses and prospecting with charitable work. She raised money to establish St Mary's Hospital in Tucson in 1880 and a Roman Catholic church, a hospital, and the first public school in Tombstone between 1880 and 1885. In Tombstone she was also an active member of the Irish National Land League, which supported the needy families of Irish miners. After the death in 1884 of her sister, Frances, she acted briefly as foster mother to her five nieces and nephews. Her reputation for warm-heartedness would follow her for the rest of her life. Unlucky miners could almost always find a room and a meal at her establishments even if they could not pay, and miners without money for a new prospect could often negotiate a grubstake with her. She might have lived out her life in ease, but Tombstone's boom went bust in 1886 and her businesses collapsed. The following year she headed out for new eldorado's, a prospecting tour that included New Mexico, Idaho, Wyoming, Mexico, South Africa, and new camps in Arizona.

In 1897, at her hotel in Yuma (Ariz.), Cashman heard of the great gold discoveries in Canada's Yukon territory [see Shaaw Tláa*]. She could not resist the call of the Klondike. As she told the Arizona Daily Citizen (Tucson) in September, she intended to leave as soon as she could organize a party of prospectors and raise \$5,000. By February 1898 she and two male companions were in Victoria assembling supplies and planning their route northward. When asked by the Victoria Daily Colonist what a lady prospector might wear for such a journey, she shocked the journalist by replying, "I dress . . . in many respects as a man does, with long heavy trousers and rubber boots. Of course, when associating with strangers, I wear a long rubber coat. Skirts are out of the question up north as many women will find out before they reach the gold fields." Interestingly, all of the surviving pictures of Cashman show her wearing respectable full-length skirts and shirtwaists, characteristic of female attire of the period.

Cashman was among the 30,000 or more stampedeers who descended on Dawson in the early summer of 1898. Like many others, she had arrived too late to stake a claim on the richest ground, though the one she purchased on Bonanza Creek yielded over \$100,000. But wealth was fleeting for Nellie Cashman: "I spent every red cent of it buying other claims and prospecting the country. I went out with my dog team or on snow shoes all over that district looking for rich claims." As a female miner, Cashman was exceptional – in 1901 only one per cent of the miners in the Yukon were women. The largest group of mining women appear to have established claims only to increase family holdings. To support her mining habit during her residence in Dawson, Cashman operated a restaurant and later a

grocery store in the Donovan Hotel, one of two run by female proprietors in Dawson in 1901 (the other 27 shops were owned by men, often as family enterprises).

From Dawson, Cashman followed the lure of gold to Alaska, first to Fairbanks in 1905 and then in 1907 to the Koyukuk region, where she mined and prospected into her late seventies. In the spring of 1924 she contracted double pneumonia and was hospitalized in Fairbanks; determined to come “home to die,” she moved to St Joseph’s Hospital in Victoria in October. She passed away there in January 1925 and was buried in Ross Bay Cemetery.

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From the Dictionary of Canadian Biography:

http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/cashman_ellen_15E.html. Used with the permission of the author and the Dictionary of Canadian Biography

WHELAN, PATRICK JAMES

(Jim Whelan)

Born: 1849, Co. Galway

Died: 1869, Ottawa, Ontario

Author: David Wilson

Patrick James (Jim) Whelan is best known in Canadian history as the man who was accused of, charged with, and executed for the murder of Thomas D'Arcy McGee in Ottawa in April 1868. He always claimed that he was innocent, that the evidence was manufactured against him, and that he had been falsely accused of being a Fenian – an Irish revolutionary prepared to use violent means to secure an independent Irish republic. How much truth was there in these claims?

There is, in fact, considerable circumstantial evidence that he was involved in Fenianism, although at what level is hard to say. He was proud of the fact that his brothers in Ireland were Fenians; one of them, Joseph, had been convicted of attempting to swear soldiers into the Brotherhood from his pub in Marlborough Street, Dublin. Jim Whelan himself was charged with a similar offence in Quebec City in 1865, but there were not enough witnesses to secure a conviction. In Montreal, he hung out with a group of Fenians who frequented Kate Scanlan's tavern, and the tailor's shop where he worked in Ottawa (at 55 Sussex Street) was owned and operated by one of the city's leading Fenians, Peter Egleson. It is possible that Jim Whelan was more than a low-ranking member of the movement. The witness at his wedding in February 1867 to Bridget Boyle shared the same name as one of Canada's leading Fenians, Edward Condon, and a well-placed informer in Fenian headquarters in New York identified him as the Ottawa delegate to a Fenian Convention in Cleveland. When Whelan was arrested, the police found several copies of the pro-invasion Irish American newspaper, indicating that he was one of its Canadian distributors. All of this casts doubt on his denial that he was a Fenian and on his insistence that he was a loyal subject of the Queen.

It does not, however, shed any direct light on the question of his guilt or innocence in the assassination of McGee. Here, we must turn to evidence produced against him in the trial. A number of witnesses spoke to the issue of motivation, reporting that on several occasions Whelan had expressed his hatred for McGee (on the grounds that McGee had become a traitor to Ireland and an informer on the Fenians) and had threatened to take his life. On one of those occasions, he had gone so far to knock on McGee's door in Montreal, only to be greeted by McGee's half-brother. Such threats, of course, would be consistent with Fenian sympathies. It also appeared that Whelan had the means to kill

McGee – a Smith and Wesson revolver that he carried with him regularly, and which he brought into the House of Commons on at least one occasion. The detective who examined the gun after Whelan's arrest (the day after the assassination) reported that it had been fired within the previous 48 hours. Forensic tests carried out in the early 1970s indicated that the bullet that killed McGee was consistent with Whelan's gun and with the bullets that he owned, although they could not state definitively that the bullet had been fired from that particular gun. As well as the motivation and the means, Whelan had the opportunity to murder McGee. Witness statements indicated that he had been stalking McGee before the assassination, that he had been in the House of Commons on the night that McGee was killed, and that he was last seen heading in the direction that McGee had taken on the way to his boarding house.

On the other hand, Whelan was right to say that the evidence – or some of it, at least – had been manufactured against him. One witness, Reuben Wade, told an unlikely story about overhearing Whelan plotting with his friends in a pub to assassinate McGee. A French Canadian lumberjack, Jean-Baptiste Lacroix, who claimed to have witnessed the murder failed to pick out Whelan in an identity parade, after which the police made Whelan change into the clothes he had been wearing on the night of the murder, and put him back into the line-up; this time, Lacroix made the desired choice. The jury, it subsequently transpired, dismissed Lacroix's story, and based its guilty verdict on the police evidence about the recently-fired gun, the testimony of Whelan's former lodgers about his threats against McGee, and the evidence of a detective who overheard Whelan state in his prison cell that he would go down in history as a great fellow who "shot that bugger like a dog."

Shortly before his execution, Whelan was visited by a crown attorney and a police magistrate, who told him that Mary McGee had forgiven him for killing her husband. Tell her that she has nothing to forgive me for, he replied; I did not kill that man. But he went on to say that he was present when McGee was shot, that he knew the identity of the killer, but that he would never turn informer.

He was hanged on February 11 1869, in what has mistakenly been called the last public execution in Canada. His last words were those made famous by the Fenian leader – and possible close friend – Edward Condon, and which quickly became a revolutionary rallying cry: "God Save Ireland!"

Fearing that a public funeral would turn into a Fenian demonstration, the government insisted that he be buried on the grounds of the Ottawa jail. A priest who agreed to consecrate the ground backed out in the face of Fenian threats; Whelan would get a proper burial in a Catholic cemetery or none at all. His body was buried in an unmarked grave, and lies there still.

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CRAWFORD, ISABELLA VALANCY

Born: 1850, Dublin, Co. Dublin

Died: 1887, Toronto, Ontario

Author: Michele Holmgren

Early biographers often succumbed to the temptation to portray Isabella Valancy Crawford as a tragic genius inspired by the beauty of unspoiled nature. She was introduced as “divinely dowered Isabella,” an “angelic mendicant” and “blessed gypsy of Canadian woods and streams” in a posthumous collection published in 1905. Crawford, who died young of heart disease, was certainly an outsider to the nascent Canadian literary scene, complaining that she had been “quietly sat upon by the ‘High Priests’ of Canadian periodical literature,” and witnessing her only book “practically fall dead from the press,” with only a few dozen copies sold. However, her *Old Spookses’ Pass*, *Malcolm’s Katie*, and *Other Poems* nevertheless caught the attention of reviewers in Canada and England, and she was hailed as a promising Canadian voice. The Irish-born Lord Dufferin, the former Governor General of Canada to whom she dedicated her book, felt that it had “nobly shown the way” towards an original literature for Canada.

Unlike other celebrated Victorian writers in Canada whose flowery style withered in the Modernists’ critical glare, Crawford’s poetry (and increasingly, her fiction) has received sustained critical attention. In the 1960s and 1970s, scholars and writers (who were themselves struggling to articulate the complexities of Canadian national identity) felt her idiosyncratic images and symbols helped create a distinct national mythos. Both her subject matter and style continue to be relevant through her ambivalent treatment of the heroic myths surrounding Canadian settlement in the West, Indigenous-settler relationships, and the role of women, making her one of the most intriguing, original, and quintessentially Canadian poets of the nineteenth century.

Crawford’s own view of her nationality was more complicated. In a brief autobiographical sketch, she avoids identifying herself as Irish, instead claiming to have been “born in Dublin, Ireland” of “mingld [sic] Scotch, French, and English descent.” Her identity has proved elusive in other ways as well. Like the researcher-narrator of Alice Munro’s short story “Meneseteung” (possibly inspired by Crawford), biographers continue to piece together an account of her life using scant and often contradictory records and to fill in the gaps with conjecture. Her birthdate has been variously given as 1846, 1847, and 1850, with ship’s records supporting the 1847 date. The family’s peripatetic history either contributed to or resulted from regular setbacks and traumas. An Irish epidemic reportedly claimed five Crawford children, followed by more deaths after the family emigrated. In Canada, friends and

neighbors recalled that the family would conceal their extreme financial distress behind a genteel façade, even if they were starving.

The family initially settled in the village of Paisley around 1857 before leaving for Lakefield in 1861, drawn either by the family's "fatal love of beauty," according to an early biography, or to escape scandals when her father, an unsuccessful doctor addicted to "milk punch," was suspected of embezzlement of town funds when he was treasurer, according to local gossip. In Lakefield, the Crawfords first stayed at the summer home of Samuel Strickland, a prominent settler in the area, and Isabella found a congenial literary social life within the Strickland family circle that included the famous writer Catharine Parr Traill. When they moved to Peterborough, a more populous town, Isabella was likely exposed to a wider artistic circle; she may have been befriended by the musical and literary McCarroll daughters. Their father James McCarroll, an Irish-born writer and musician, may have introduced her to the publisher of New York papers that carried much of her popular fiction in the 1870s and 1880s.

The North American markets for popular and sensation literature became a lifeline for the ever-diminishing family after the death of Dr. Crawford in 1875, followed by the death of Crawford's younger sister a few months later. Crawford and her mother moved to Toronto, living in various boarding houses, and Crawford's writing paid the rent, albeit irregularly. Rather than a naïve and romantic singer of Canadian woods and streams, Crawford learned early to be an astute manager of her own career, initiating lawsuits, for example, when promised literary prize money did not appear, and keeping a meticulous record of payments and number of words written. Her writing was also worldly and current: her fiction could be keenly ironic, and the targets of her satire included the more famous and less gifted poet-politician Nicholas Flood Davin. Her occasional poems commented on current affairs, including the second Northwest Resistance of 1885, and, farther afield, the Irish land wars of the 1870s and 1880s.

Crawford's family emigrated a decade after the Irish Famine, and the humanitarian crises she portrays in her poem "A Hungry Day" could be read as commentary on both past and current Irish issues, especially since she would have witnessed immigrants' continuing struggles in Toronto. Her own hand-to-mouth existence may have made Crawford acutely aware of the sharp contrast between extreme poverty and wealth created by industrialization, with scenes of urban squalor and pastoral peace existing side by side. Such contrasts feature in her most powerful poetry and fiction. In her unfinished long poem *Hugh and Ion*, a social crusader witnesses a machine take the "serf that serv'd it ... and comb his sweating flesh sheer from his bones / With glittr'ing fangs." The crusader shares with the protagonists of Malcolm's *Katie* a vision of a new social order where "panting, human waves /

Upheav'd by throbs of angry poverty" would finally settle into "the calm / Of sun-ey'd Plenty." Crawford sees the expanding Canadian territories as feeding soul as well as body, shown when Hugh and Ion's visionary narrator witnesses a lakeside dawn in a landscape no doubt inspired by Crawford's childhood homes:

Naked, a second, on the shore...

With all the innocent, small feather'd things

Flying to touch the scarlet, lucid bars

Of her stretch'd fingers...

Crawford's life, shaped by individual and national tragedy in Ireland and by her rural and urban experiences in Canada, produced rich and complex writing whose antinomies created a distinctive Canadian voice that readers still find relevant today.

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THREE GOVERNORS GENERAL: MONCK, LISGAR AND THE DUFFERINS

Born: ?

Died: ?

Author: Eamonn McKee

During and after Confederation, Canada's three Governors General (GGs) were Anglo-Irish. They adroitly navigated their role as representatives of the sovereign Crown, Queen Victoria as the new Dominion was finding its feet, reshaping the office for a new bilateral relationship with the imperial motherland.

The last GG of Provincial Canada and the first one of Confederated Canada was Viscount Charles Monck. Born in Templemore, County Tipperary, and educated at Trinity College Dublin, he served for a time as MP for Portsmouth. GG to Provincial Canada from 1861 to 1867, Monck diffused tensions with the US that threatened war. Of the negotiations for Confederation, his official biography states: "He helped build 'The Great Coalition', the consolidation of the Reform and Conservative parties that was key to the colonies' pursuit of federalism." Monck selected Rideau Hall as the GG's official residence, purchased for \$82,000 in 1868. As a keen horticulturalist, he did much to develop the gardens and grounds. His term over in 1868, Monck returned to Ireland and further public service as Lord Lieutenant of County Dublin. He died in Enniskerry in 1894 aged 75.

Monck was succeeded as GG by John Young, 1st Baron Lisgar, in 1869. Son of William Young of Bailieborough Castle, Cavan, Lisgar was born in Bombay. The castle was known as Lisgar House, hence John's title. Lisgar was MP for Cavan for 24 years, Secretary of the Treasury and Chief Secretary of Ireland from 1852 to 1855 under Prime Minister Peel, and then completed stints in colonial service in Greece and New South Wales. In his time as GG, Canada faced the crises of Fenian raids and Louis Riel's Red River Rebellion. In both, Lisgar worked closely with PM Macdonald and intervened to prevent executions that would merely sow bitterness. Lisgar also helped ease relations with the US, travelling to Washington to meet with President Ulysses S. Grant. His wife, Lady Adelaide Annabella Dalton Lisgar actively promoted Rideau Hall as centre of social life, hosting the first New Year's Levee in 1869 there.

The third Anglo-Irish GG was Frederick Temple Blackwood, Lord Dufferin. Frederick's mother Helen was a granddaughter of the famous Irish playwright, satirist and MP Richard Brinsley Sheridan. His father was Price Blackwood, 4th Baron of Dufferin and Clandeboye outside Belfast, settled there since the early 1600s. As a young student, Frederick visited Clonakilty in West Cork to see the wretched

conditions of the Great Famine and raised money for relief of the poor and starving. He hated Christ Church Oxford and left after two years without a degree. Not that he needed it: with the early death of his father, he had become Baron of Dufferin and Clandeboye in 1841.

Frederick cut a dash as a young aristocrat with his good looks, kind heart, and charm. By 1850 he was a member of the House of Lords. Some years later he sailed the North Atlantic and his humorous travelogue, the popular *Letters from High Latitudes*, demonstrated his fine writing skills. He turned to diplomacy where he was involved in the negotiations at the end of the Crimean War. He had a distinguished and influential series of postings in Lebanon, Syria and India.

In the meantime, Frederick had married a distance cousin, Harriot Rowan-Hamilton of nearby Killyleagh Castle (the Blackwoods had a keen eye for an enhancing marriage). They would be blessed with twelve children in all. She would prove to be an adept diplomat herself, and they were the quintessential power-couple. In 1872, Frederick now Lord Dufferin, travelled with his wife to Rideau Hall to take up his appointment as Governor General.

To further Rideau Hall's capacity to reach the public, they added the opulent Ballroom and the startling marquee-like Tent Room. Skating and curling rinks were built and opened to the public. They hosted balls, theatre, and concerts, making Rideau Hall the centre of social life in the young capital city. He created the GG's Academic medals to reward scholarly achievement.

Dufferin watched the young Confederation's parliamentary business closely and admired first Prime Minister John A. Macdonald. He felt it was his right to engage on substantive matters with Ministers: "they must not expect me to accept their advice merely because they give it but must approve it to my understanding and conscience." Like Monck and Lisgar he was a conciliator: he commuted Ambroise Lépine's death sentence for killing Thomas Scott during the Red River Rebellion, even though Scott was related to a tenant in Ireland and Dufferin considered Lépine a ruffian. He urged London to facilitate Canadian self-government as much as possible to ward off the US, noting that Quebec "has in great measure saved the English population from Yankification."

The Dufferins were very taken with Quebec, no doubt its Francophone ambience appealing to both of them. They were horrified when the City started to demolish its old walls, campaigned to stop it, and raised funds to preserve them. They created a promenade, Dufferin Terrace with views of the St Lawrence, an enduring landmark in the city. Thanks to their invention, Quebec was in a good position almost a century later to become a UNESCO world heritage site.

Dufferin and his wife visited every Province, including Indigenous communities from whom they received gifts of native craft and art. He was popular too with the Catholic clergy and corresponded

with many of the Irish born episcopate. Lady Dufferin published her letters to her mother as *My Canadian Journal* and considered their time in Canada as the happiest of their lives. They in turn were immensely popular with the wider public.

Monck, Lisgar and Dufferin were the Confederation chapter of a long and influential Anglo-Irish legacy in colonial Canada stretching back to its colonial formation. Collectively, they made significant contributions at a critical period of transition from colony to Dominion, bringing experience, confidence and an abiding sense of affection for Canada to their roles and the office itself. They literally left a physical mark in Rideau Hall but left too a legacy in the functioning and public perception of the office of Governor General.

Further Reading:

The DCB and the GG's official website both contain fuller biographies.

SKRINE, AGNES HIGGINSON

(Agnes Shakespeare “Nesta” Higginson Skrine / Moira O’Neill)

Born: 1864, Cushendun, Co. Antrim

Died: 1955, Ballyrankin, Co. Wexford

Author: Michele Holmgren

Agnes Higginson Skrine, who published as “Moira O’Neill,” has commemorative landmarks on opposite ends of the globe. A plaque on Cushendun Old Church acknowledges her poetry, which celebrated the Glens of Antrim. In 2011, a small creek in the Porcupine Hills in southwestern Alberta was named in honour of the Skrine family, early settlers in the region.

Skrine was born in Mauritius but grew up near Cushendun. She considered herself a “Glenswoman” with a lifelong attachment to the area, its culture, and distinct form of Hiberno-English. After marrying Somerset-born Walter Skrine in Cushendun in 1895, she left her beloved glens with her new husband, who had leased 17,000 acres 24 miles from High River in what was then called the North West Territories.

In Canadian imperial rhetoric and in English imagination, an upper-class female settler was seen as both a moral mainstay of the new western settlements and an object of pity. A refined Anglo-Irish woman torn from her beloved Ireland and genteel comforts could expect only homesickness, sacrifice, and privation in her new life. In reality, Walter Skrine brought Agnes to a fine new two-story house built with lumber hauled by horse from Calgary. She was happy to demolish the stereotype of the hapless “English lady on a ranche” in a Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine article published in 1898. Already a successful author before she left Ireland, she likely channelled some of her homesickness into poetic celebrations of the Glens “made more intensely precious by exile,” in the view of John Masefield, who admired her poems. Moreover, Skrine believed there was “a good deal of sympathy between Ireland and the North West,” and poems celebrating the sublime prairie landscapes shared space with her Antrim poems in her two published collections. For at least “one small Irishwoman happily situated,” as she described herself in “A Lady’s Life on a Ranche,” life was not an “unenviable existence in the barehanded struggle” for “existence,” but a source of freedoms unavailable to women of her class in Ireland and England.

Noting that Anglo Irish society was “more given to neglect superfluities...follow after sport, and love horses” than its English counterpart, Skrine argued that her upbringing had been “good training for the North – West.” Genteel outdoor leisure activities could be taken up in the new territories, with

coyotes standing in for grouse. Freed from the stress of household demands in the form of social obligations, servants, endless silverware, and the complexities of newfangled stoves, Skrine was content with one male cook and a few hours of light housework. It was a small price to pay, she conceded, for “all the joys of liberty.”

Skrine revelled in the solitude that allowed her to enjoy the outdoors, gather flowers, read, write poetry, and think without “that daily division and subdivision of time which the making and breaking and rearranging of engagements entails on the members of society.” Nor did winter faze her. Like her compatriot Nicholas Flood Davin and other promoters of immigration, she extolled the prairie winter’s “mysterious effects of colour” along with the “light sparkle and exhilaration in the air that acts on the spirits like a charm.” She captured the seasonal changes and the spirit of the landscape in her prose and poetry. While titled *Songs of the Glens of Antrim*, her 1901 collection portrayed the North West where “the long land-breezes rise and pass/ And sigh in the rustling prairie grass. While she imagined a longed-for return to Ireland, she claimed, “you’ll lave your heart behind you in the West.”

While the Skrines welcomed farmers into a region that had been jealously guarded by ranchers, the gradual change to a farming economy convinced the family to sell their lands to neighbors (the Bar S ranch continues to operate today) and return with their two children to Ireland in 1902. They settled first in Kildare and then in a country house near Ferns, Co. Wexford. They had three more children including Mary Nesta Skrine, who became the novelist Molly Keane, who eclipsed her mother’s own considerable fame. However, Skrine’s first poetry collection sold well on both sides of the Atlantic, and John Masefield considered her one of his favorite writers. Her Irish-themed lyrics were set to music by the Irish composers Sir Charles Villiers Stanford and Sir Hamilton Harty and recorded by many singers including Kathleen Ferrier.

A certain “house upon the prairie in the lone North West” and her childhood region continued to feed her lyric muse while she lived at Ballyrankin House in Wexford, and a second collection, *More Songs from the Glens of Antrim*, appeared in 1921. Perhaps aware of changing tastes and Modernist poetics, Skrine included a note saying that they were “written by a Glenswoman in the dialect of the Glens and chiefly for the pleasure of other Glens-people.” Modern upheavals affected the Skrine family in a more immediate domestic manner when their country house was nearly destroyed in an IRA arson attack the same year. (The Skrines stood to watch their house go up in flames, having declined the offer of two armchairs salvaged by the arsonists.)

The family rebuilt and remained in the area. Walter Skrine died in a hunting accident in 1930, and Agnes’s natural introversion intensified into reclusiveness in the years leading to her death at Ballyrankin house in 1955. More successful as a writer than mother, her eccentricities and maternal

failings were recorded unsparingly by her novelist daughter. Her poetry nevertheless promoted a sense of pleasure and pride in the regional distinctions of the North of Ireland and of her first married home in the North West. Like many emigrant Irish writers, her transatlantic perspective shaped her portraits of both worlds. The presentation of prairie nature and society through the eyes of a newcomer rendered it new and distinct; the home landscape became equally so, made vivid and unique in the emigrant's desire to recollect and commemorate it.

LEAMY, ANDREW

Born: 1816, Tipperary

Died: 1868, Hull, Quebec

Author: Rick Henderson

Andrew Leamy was born in the Catholic parish of Drom, County Tipperary, Ireland, the eldest son of the six children of Michael Leamy and Margaret Marshall. Andrew was a devout Catholic who understood the value of the education he had received as a child in Ireland - most likely in what was known as a "hedge school". Emigrating with his family from Tipperary, Ireland, to the Ottawa Valley in 1830, Andrew Leamy soon began to work as a lumberman in the timber industry. Not long after, his life would become intertwined with Philemon Wright Senior, founder of the Valley's first permanent settlement and pioneer of the Ottawa Valley timber industry. In due course, Andrew would become a timber merchant in his own right and a pillar of the Catholic community of Wright's Town.

Physically, Leamy was a tall and powerful man, as described in *The Evening Citizen*, August 31, 1929: Andrew Leamy was a man of large physique and great force of character [...] Leamy stood six feet two inches in his stocking feet and was built in proportion. He was a man of great physical strength. In the early days when "best man", ideas prevailed, Andrew was held in high respect. It was told of him that though a very powerful man and a terror in a fight, under ordinary conditions, he was one of the most peaceful of men."

By 1832, Andrew was working as a raftsmen on the Upper Ottawa River and by 1834, he was guiding Peter Aylen's rafts downriver to Quebec City. Aylen, aka "King of the Shiners," was an Irish-born timberman who gained his fame using violence to wrest control of the river, mostly through the agency of Irish-born woodsmen known as Shiners. Leamy's association with Aylen would undeservedly cast a long shadow upon his life to this very day. Although, unlike Aylen, who would employ mostly Protestant Irishmen like himself, Leamy's employees later on, were both English and French. In 1834, Leamy would change direction when he began working with the Wright family, the principal landowners in the Ottawa Valley. Leamy eventually married Elizabeth "Erexina" Wright, the daughter of Philemon Wright Jr., in Catholic ceremony, and became formally a member of one of the Valley's most prominent families.

Leamy's force of character and family ties witnessed him play a significant role in the early community through his connections to prominent citizens, including: Thomas D'Arcy McGee (godfather to Leamy's grandsons), Nicholas Sparks (his father-in-law), and Daniel O'Connor (Justice of the Peace). Leamy's brother James was a respected Bytown Councillor. Leamy founded the first school commission in the

and donated land for the establishment of Notre-Dame Cemetery. A respected gentleman farmer, he owned a stable full of racehorses, but never backed away from a fight to defend his Church: "Andrew Leamy," according to J.L. Gourlay," a famous old warrior, took sometimes an active hand in these troubles. Often from sharp and angry words they went to blows, marking each other's face's very picturesquely."

Leamy soon began to increase his personal wealth. His land holdings began in 1838 with 65 acres of the Gateno Farm, which his wife Erexina inherited from her mother Sally Sparks. By 1849, Andrew Leamy arranged the purchase of the remaining 159 acres of the Gateno Farm and his lands the Gatineau River now included the waters that fed the "Rafting Place" on the Ottawa River. Later, Leamy would sell significant portions of this property to the Crown's Public Works to allow improvements to be made for the benefit of the Ottawa Valley timber industry.

Leamy prospered in the lumber industry while working for Ruggle's Wright, Philemon Sr's, surviving son. He purchased some of Ruggles' shanties and provision farms to become a timberman with exclusive rights to timber harvesting in the Gatineau Valley through the Gatineau Privilege. In 1853, Leamy created an artificial waterway the Columbia Pond which linked the Gatineau River to the Rafting Place. It is now called Leamy Lake. Leamy then hired a young carpenter by the name of John Rudolphus Booth to build a steam-powered sawmill on the shores of Columbia Pond – only the second steam-mill built in the Ottawa Valley at that time. J. R. Booth would manage the mill for a year before moving on to make his own way as a timber baron, eventually becoming the richest man in Canada.

On March 30, 1857, while Andrew Leamy was in Montreal, a boiler at his mill exploded, killing his eldest son, 19-year-old Louis-Napoleon and injuring several others. Leamy rebuilt the mill, but in 1867, another boiler exploded, injuring another son. Leamy decided not to rebuild a second time. A year later, on April 20, 1868, Andrew was seen in his carriage turning down Leamy Lane, heading towards his farm. He did not make it home. In what appeared to be a nasty accident, he was found near death the next morning, bleeding heavily from the head. There was some mystery surrounding his death; a labourer who had been in Leamy's employ, a man by the name of Henry Maxwell, was arrested for the robbery and murder of Andrew Leamy. Ironically, Andrew's death occurred exactly two weeks to the day after the death of his good friend and fellow Irishman, Thomas D'Arcy McGee.

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HART, Hon. JOHN

Born: 1879, Cloncoose, Co. Leitrim

Died: 1957, Victoria, British Columbia

Author: Patricia Roy

In reporting on many of John Hart's twenty budget speeches, journalists often mentioned his silver hair, his natty garb, and his Irish brogue. In later years, they noted the shamrocks decorating his desk when the Legislature sat on St. Patrick's Day. John Hart served as British Columbia's Minister of Finance from 1917 to 1924 and from 1933 to 1946 and as its premier from 1941 to 1947. Hart was born on 31 March 1879, the son of John Hart, a farmer, and his wife, Mary (nee Reynolds) at Cloncoose, County Leitrim. After completing his education at Ross's School, Mohill, he came to Victoria, BC, in 1898. Two older sisters, Rose and Delia, had come earlier to care for an uncle who died in 1891. John lived with Delia, and his slightly older brother followed him to Victoria.

Hart had hoped to make a career in banking but no positions were available so he took on a post "pushing pencils" and adding numbers in a commission agency where he learned the insurance business. In 1909, with J.H. Gillespie, he went into the real estate and insurance business as Gillespie and Hart. Later they also dealt in stocks and bonds.

On 29 June 1908, John married Harriet Cotsford MacKay, the granddaughter of a Hudson's Bay Company fur trader. She was a Presbyterian but later converted to Catholicism and was active in Catholic charities especially St. Joseph's Hospital. Hart's Catholic faith was important. He was a founding member of the Victoria Council of the Knights of Columbus in 1907, became a Grand Knight, and often spoke at Knights' gatherings across the province. In 1948 he was lay chairman of the Vancouver Island visit of Father Patrick Peyton's Family Rosary crusade. In a province where Catholics were a definite minority, he never hid his faith even though it was sometimes used against him politically.

He did play up his Irish roots. As a young man, he helped organize St. Patrick's Day concerts and banquets and gave talks on Irish subjects. He joined the Ancient Order of Hibernians and was twice the Victoria president. In 1915 after its magazine attacked John Redmond for encouraging Irishmen to enlist in the Allied forces, Hart, who supported the war effort, resigned from the Order. His only visit home was in 1923, when, while in London on government business, with his wife, he had a brief holiday there.

Although it was not a good time to be a Liberal in British Columbia, he was an active member of the party by 1906. With Depression and scandal involving the Conservative government, Liberal fortunes rose. In the Liberal victory in 1916 election, Hart won one of Victoria's four seats. In 1917, after the death of the incumbent finance minister, Hart was named his successor. The province was deeply in debt. By using his knowledge of the money markets; introducing administrative reforms including better tax collecting; and benefitting from an improving economy, he restored the province's credit by 1924 when he left politics to concentrate on his firm's Vancouver office.

He returned to Victoria in 1931. After the 1933 election, he again became finance minister and again, faced an immense debt. Once more, he restored the province's credit. He spent much time dealing with Ottawa to borrow money and secure grants for unemployment relief. Like Premier T. Dufferin Pattullo, he objected to the recommendations of the 1940 Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations that would have seen British Columbia, as a "have" province helping to subsidize the more numerous "have not" provinces. Unlike Pattullo, Hart and many British Columbians recognized that war had changed circumstances. The general election of October 1941 gave the Liberals the most seats but not a majority. Despite his lack of enthusiasm for politicking, Hart accepted the leadership of the provincial Liberal party in place of the discredited Pattullo, and by implication, the premiership.

In December 1941, Hart and R.L. Maitland, the Conservative leader, formed a Coalition under Hart's leadership with the socialist Co-operative Commonwealth Federation as the official opposition. Hart remained as finance minister. Canada was at war during most of his premiership but his government improved relations with the federal government while driving hard bargains to protect provincial interests; reformed school finance; inaugurated a new policy designed to preserve the forests while permitting logging; initiated major programmes to build highways linking the south coast with the Peace River district and with the southern interior; began work on completing the provincially-owned and debt ridden Pacific Great Eastern Railway, and laid the foundations for expanding hydro-electric power service under public ownership by creating the British Columbia Power Commission.

Hart retired from the premiership late in 1947 but remained in the legislature, part of the time as speaker, until his term expired in 1949. His hope of a senate seat was not to be. Retirement, however, gave him more time for playing golf, managing his private business, and serving as director for several national companies. Alas, while sitting at the bedside of his dying brother Hugh in February 1954, he suffered a heart attack and some weeks later, a stroke which robbed him of his speech and mobility, but not his sense of humour. He died on April 7, 1957. His wife, whose health was never robust, died a year later. They had no children. In probate, the gross value of his estate was calculated at over half a million dollars.

Despite his financial acumen, his service as the province's longest serving minister of finance, his skill in negotiating with the federal government, and a personality that allowed him to work easily with people of other political persuasions, he is only remembered by the John Hart Highway that links Prince George and the Peace River district and the John Hart dam near Campbell River. Nevertheless, his financial knowledge and his ability to practice consensus politics, made him the "right man" for difficult times in provincial history.

Further Reading:

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MORAN, BRIDGET (nee Drugan)

Born: 1923, Enniskillen, Fermanagh

Died: 1999, Prince George, British Columbia.

Author: Professor Mayo Moran

Canadian author Bridget Moran, née Drugan, was born on September 1, 1923 in Enniskillen, County Fermanagh, Northern Ireland. When she was a young child, her family emigrated to Success, Saskatchewan where they lived through difficult times, including drought, the Depression and the death of her father when she was a teenager.

Driven by an ever-present curiosity, powerful intellect, and deep belief in fairness, Moran went on to a distinguished career as a social justice activist, social worker, and author. And although she loved her adopted country, her Irish roots remained a central feature of her identity and a vital force throughout her life.

Moran taught school in rural Saskatchewan until 1944 when she enlisted in the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service. It was that naval service that enabled her to attend the University of Toronto. She was a brilliant student, graduating with an Honours B.A. in Philosophy and English and with the Gold Medal. Moran began work on a master's degree in History, but was unable to continue because the Department of Veterans' Affairs refused to provide financial support on the grounds that they found no women teaching in history departments in Canada.

Following this, she moved to British Columbia and began a career as a social worker. Moran settled in Prince George and worked throughout BC's Central Interior. Her fame began when, along with some co-workers, she publicly criticized the appalling treatment of children in the child welfare system. After an open letter to Premier W.A.C. Bennett in 1964, the British Columbia government suspended her. She never worked as a direct government employee again although she continued her social work career in the health and education sectors.

Following the suspension, Moran began to advocate more openly for social and economic justice, including through regular columns in Prince George papers and many guest columns and letters in provincial and national papers. While she had written other more personal pieces, including an unpublished book documenting her first trip to Ireland with her daughters in 1974, it was her longstanding work with Indigenous people that led to Moran's flourishing career as an author.

Her first published book (1988), *Sai'k'uz Ts'eke: Stoney Creek Woman*, focuses on Carrier-Sekani Elder Mary John. Written at the request of Mary's daughter, the book traces the life of a distinguished Carrier Elder during a period of changing Indigenous-settler relations. The award-winning book called attention to this largely ignored and troubling history. It became a best seller, was widely translated, and taught in schools and universities.

Moran's next published book *Judgement at Stoney Creek: Sai'k'uz Ne ba na huz'ya* (1990) documents events around the high profile inquest into the death of Coreen Thomas, a young Carrier woman killed in her ninth month of pregnancy. A book before its time, *Judgement* brought a sharp and critical focus to Indigenous-settler relations in rural BC in the 1970s.

Moran's 1992 book *A Little Rebellion* (1992) tells her own story about her social work with the BC Government, including her very public firing. Like her other books, it is animated by a concern with injustice and focuses on the failure of the social welfare system to care for those most in need. A 2019 documentary, *Blacklisted: The Bridget Moran Story*, looks at Moran's legacy of activism, anchored in those dramatic events of 1964.

Her 1994 book *Justa: A First Nations Leader* was followed by her last, self-published, book *Prince George Remembered* recounting oral histories of white settler memories of life in Prince George between 1911 and 1920. Moran gathered these stories during her early years in the city. An updated version of the book was printed by Repository Press in 2022.

She received many honours for her writing, including the Lieutenant Governor's Medal for Historical Writing from the British Columbia Historical Federation, the Governor General's Medal (with Mary John) commemorating the 125th anniversary of Canada, and the Jeanne Clark Memorial Award for Local History. She was an honorary member of the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women. She received honorary Doctor of Laws degrees from the University of Northern British Columbia (1995) and the University of Victoria (1996).

Throughout her life, Moran remained active in her community, serving on the boards of the College of New Caledonia (CNC), the Legal Services Society of British Columbia, and the Yinka Dene Language Institute. There are several memorials to Moran both in Vancouver where supportive housing is named in her honour and in Prince George. The most well-loved of these is a life-sized statue of her sitting on a bench in the downtown core which was commissioned by the city in 2003. She is regularly joined on her bench by friends old and new and dressed up for special occasions, especially St. Patrick's Day where her friends from the Celtic club join her for a ceilidh and make sure she's wearing a bit of green. A shelter for the homeless in downtown Prince George also bears her name.

Moran's legacy also includes children and grandchildren. In 1955 she married Patrick Moran, an Irish immigrant from County Mayo, and they had four children. The children were raised with a love of all things Irish and know how to enjoy a good craic. Being Irish was central to their identity and all the children spent time in Ireland and continue to feel a deep connection to it. Moran's oldest daughter Mayo Moran is a legal scholar and has continued the link with the University of Toronto, first as a faculty member and then as the first woman Dean of the Law School and following that as Provost of Trinity College. Her daughter Roseanne carried on another dimension of Moran's legacy through her committed social justice work which culminated in serving as Executive Director of the NDP Government Caucus in British Columbia. Her sons, of course, are named Patrick and Michael.

Moran died in 1999, having lived a life that reflected her tough and passionate Irish roots. She always strived to improve the lives of those who faced injustice, but she was also fun-loving and knew how to enjoy life's simple pleasures. She travelled throughout Canada in her little motor home, loved a good meal and a good singsong, was a voracious reader of everything from world history to Agatha Christie mysteries and always had time for a joke. An Irish life well-lived.

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REID, WILLIAM ADRIAN LOCKHART PATRICK

Born: 1924, Belfast, Co. Antrim

Died: 2015, Richmond, British Columbia

Author: Mark G. McGowan

Patrick Reid is an example of how Irish immigrants have contributed greatly to Canada's image in the world and to Canadians' own self understanding. Patrick's father William was an officer in the Royal Ulster Constabulary, which meant Patrick, his sister Muriel, and mother Kathleen, moved frequently in Northern Ireland. Patrick, however, was particularly close to his maternal grandfather Aaron Lockhart, an equestrian, a Great War veteran, and successful farmer in Dunkineely, Donegal. On visits to his grandfather's farm, he cultivated a lifelong love of horses and the military. Raised in the Church of Ireland, Patrick attended the Methodist College in Belfast, where he excelled in academics and rugby. In 1941, at age sixteen, he entered Queen's University Belfast, where he spent a year of study before enlisting, under-aged and against his parents wishes, in the British Army. After officer training at Sandhurst, where he was awarded the "Belt of Honour" as the top cadet, he joined the North Irish Horse, an armoured regiment soon to be deployed on the Italian front. During the Italian Campaign he worked closely with Canadian troops whom he referred to as "the best infantry in the Eighth Army." Thus began his love-affair with Canada. He was wounded in action and won the Military Cross for bravery before the war's end. In 1945, he was deployed to Malaya and served with the military constabulary there, and then was seconded by NATO to serve in Norway, with responsibility for overseeing the Scandinavian sector. In 1954, the British Army sent him to the staff College in Kingston, Ontario, which cemented his desire to remain in Canada.

In May 1955, after a brief sojourn in Ireland, Patrick landed in Montreal and registered as an immigrant. His first job was in sales at Crawley Films in Ottawa. It was on a trip to promote filmmaking in British Columbia, that he was hired by Michael O'Brien, owner of one of Vancouver's leading advertising agencies, and was set to work on commercial accounts and promotions for the Conservative Party. In 1956, while at a St. Patrick's Day party he met his future wife, Alison Cumming. They were married in 1958 and later had two children, Amanda and Michael. In 1962, Reid was enticed to move to Ottawa to become the Director of Canadian Government Exhibitions Commission, an office responsible for marketing Canada abroad, particularly through international "expos." While reluctant to leave Vancouver, where he had become active in the local military regiments, commercial enterprises, and local politics, the move to Ottawa would be life changing.

In 1964, Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pearson was under heavy fire for his initiative to create a new Canadian flag. Opposition politicians and a host of national organizations denounced the “Pearson Pennant”—a flag bounded by two blue borders, white centre section, containing three red maple leaves—with no homage to the country’s British heritage. The Prime Minister’s Office called Reid at the Exhibition Commission for help. Reid enlisted his team, particularly designer Jacques St-Cyr to re-create the flag. Later, Reid explained that the flag would have to be simple enough for school children to draw, be seen the same way from both sides, and retain a single maple leaf (which he recalled from the uniforms of the Canadian troops in Italy). His team came up with the design, an eleven-pointed maple leaf on a white field, flanked by thick red bands. Reid’s team raised their design on the flagpole one night in front of Pearson’s official residence. Next morning, Pearson awoke to the redesigned pennant, and expressed approval. The new flag became official February 15, 1965.

Reid’s Special Project Division became responsible for the Canadian historical road show embodied in the Centennial Train and Caravans in 1967 and for support to Expo 67 in Montreal. Internationally, he was Commissioner General of the Milan Exposition of 1964 and became the Senior Canadian delegate to the Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), the global body that approved applications for international exhibitions. He would become director of the BIE in 1972. In 1970, he was head of the Canadian pavilion at Expo 70 in Osaka, Japan, and led the delegation representing all foreign exhibitors. The Canadian pavilion was one of the most visited at the fair, and his superb leadership earned him the Public Service Award of Merit. In 1972, External Affairs appointed Reid their representative to oversee the Canada-Russia Summit hockey series. Reid smoothed over some Soviet-Canadian diplomatic difficulties and was on hand in Moscow to see Paul Henderson score the historic series winning goal. His growing reputation for skill in marketing Canada to the world prompted his appointment, in 1978, as head of Canada House on Trafalgar Square in London, which he transformed into a Canadian cultural “mecca” for Canadian and international tourists.

Reid’s greatest achievement, however, was his convincing the BIE to hold an exposition for communication and transportation in Vancouver in 1986. As the head of Expo ’86 he secured the participation of a record fifty-four countries to build pavilions along Vancouver’s False Creek. The exposition was a triumph in terms of attendance and as a “linchpin” for the development of Vancouver as a world class city. The “man in motion” theme of the fair also inspired his future son-in-law, para-Olympian Rick Hansen, who adopted the fair’s motto as he traversed the earth in a wheelchair to help create an accessible and inclusive world for people with disabilities and find a cure for spinal cord injury. In 1987, for his many achievements, Reid was named an Officer of the Order of Canada. He ended his public service as head of the Vancouver Port Corporation. In his memoir, aptly titled *Wild Colonial Boy*, Patrick Reid commented that he was very proud of his Irish heritage, but he exuded love

for Canada: “As a newcomer I was blessed in another way. I had just become a citizen when I found myself portraying Canada abroad ... the task was easy. I had the conviction of a true convert that no other country in the world could compare with my adopted land.”

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Vancouver Sun, 11 December 2015

Globe & Mail, 20 December 2015

MALLON, MICHAEL 'MICK' *IN PROGRESS

Born: 1933, Northern Ireland

Died: 2023, Ottawa

Author: Eamonn C. McKee

COLL, BRIDGET

Born: 1934, Fanad, Co. Donegal

Died: 2016, British Columbia

Author: Makenzie O'Quinn

The story of Bridget Coll spans countries and historic moments, providing insight into 20th-century Irish religious emigration and Ireland's LGBTQ+ diaspora. A tiny woman with a fierce heart, the tale of Bridget found her resisting Pinochet's regime in Chile and challenging discriminatory Canadian immigration laws. It is a story of love and solidarity.

Born in a Catholic family near the Fanad lighthouse in Co. Donegal, Bridget was one of twelve children. Growing up, she once stated that "everything was Catholic," and by the age of 14, Bridget decided she wanted to be a nun. At 16, she left her family and emigrated to England to join a women's religious community, the Franciscan Missionaries of St. Joseph.

In 1960, when sent to a convent in Albany, New York, Bridget made her first Canadian connection: Chris Morrissey, a fellow nun in the Order who was raised in Prince George, British Columbia. Unknown to them both, Chris would also become Bridget's partner, and the love of her life.

Reflecting on her time in New York, Bridget remembered: "There was an encyclical on birth control from the Pope. The priest gave a whole sermon from the pulpit about how it was a real bad thing to do. I had a lot of contact with mothers of kids that I taught. They would come and tell me their stories about birth control. I listened to the women's stories and their hardships ... For the first time in my life, I began to doubt the teachings of the Church." This point in her relationship with Catholic social teaching seems to be the beginning of Bridget's lifelong pursuit of social liberation and solidarity with disenfranchised groups.

In 1977, Bridget's parents died within weeks of each other. She remembered later that Chris was the only person who sincerely asked after her wellbeing. "That's how we really got together" she recalled, "with that question." Later, Chris told Bridget she was a lesbian. [Chris] asked: 'Do you know what that is?' I said: 'No.' ... I didn't know the word ... It was 1977, I was 43, that's the first time I ever heard it and the first time I fell in love with a woman."

Around this time, Bridget became exposed to Liberation Theology: a radical social doctrine developing out of Latin America, in response to Vatican II, focused on solidarity with the poor and liberation from systemic oppression. Following the 1973 Chilean coup of Salvador Allende's government, Liberation

Theology inspired coalitions between secular and religious activists throughout the country. The 1980 assassination of Archbishop Óscar Romero in El Salvador, and the murder of four women missionaries by American-trained agents, rocked the world and showed the influence of this ideology. An influence not lost on Bridget.

Moved by the idea that “the Church should act to bring about social change and ally itself with the working class,” Bridget felt called to join the movement happening throughout Latin America. She asked her superiors to go to Chile and was told, “remember you’re going to preach the Gospel, not to meddle in politics.” Chris joined her, and the two began ministering to the poor and entering into many contemporaneous struggles for liberation.

In Chile, they met two other coupled nuns, Monica Hingston and Peg Moran. The four became close friends and were involved with the Chilean protest: *Movimiento contra la tortura*. Monica remembered Bridget as “a feisty Irish woman, who just oozed courage.” On 1 September 1983, Bridget and Chris joined a protest at a notorious detention centre in Santiago. When reflecting on that day, Chris remembered her own legs were “like lead” but Bridget looked on without fear. “She turned ... looked at me and said ‘Come on, they’re starting. We’re going to miss it’.”

Bridget was in solidarity at the forefront of protests against the Pinochet dictatorship, even joining to protest the Catholic Church’s complicity, despite being a religious sister. In fact, the only time Bridget entered the Cathedral in Santiago was when police watercannons pushed her inside.

It was after this Bridget understood she was no longer at home with her religious community. “I realised how distant I was from them [the Order].” After much reflection, Bridget and Chris decided to leave their congregation and move to Vancouver in 1989 to live openly as a couple. Unfortunately, Chris was unable to sponsor Bridget as an immigrant because they were lesbians.

In December 1991, they co-founded – with several other Canadians – LEGIT, a.k.a. the Lesbian and Gay Immigration Task Force. In 1992, they filed a constitutional challenge on the grounds ‘Immigration Canada’s refusal to process [Bridget’s application] constituted discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation,’ and they won. Bridget remembered, “it was on the local news at six o’clock, then it was on the national news that evening... it was something about Gorbachev first and then these two lesbians in Vancouver.”

In October of 1992, Bridget was granted permanent residency status. She and Chris continued challenging the exclusionary policies of Canadian Immigration Law, and Bridget would spend the rest of her life working to advance legal protections for LGBTQ+ individuals. In 1999, she and Chris were

honoured as Grand Marshalls of Vancouver Pride in recognition for their advocacy. In 2000, the couple set up the organization Rainbow Refugee to support those in similar immigration situations.

When remembering the courage of Bridget Coll, Chris later said “she was always in the front row. I was the one holding back. She was out in front, dragging me along ... at the end of her life, she was content. She died as she lived, simply and courageously.” Bridget was eventually diagnosed with dementia, but the couple used that diagnosis as yet another opportunity to help others on similar journeys. Bridget sought to serve others until the end.

Bridget Coll changed Canada, and influenced events around the world. In her, we find an example of altruism and the pursuit of justice equal to any Irish story in Canada or beyond.

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PRATT, FRANK BAIRD

Borne: 1938, Abbeyleix, Kilkenny

Died: 2001, Ottawa, Canada

Author: Ralph W. Mahara

Frank Baird Pratt was born in Abbeyleix, Kilkenny, Ireland on June 13, 1938. He was raised on the family farm tended to by his father and his grandfather before him. Frank's eyes were already cast on a distant horizon across the sea in Canada. He had become aware of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and he committed himself to emigrate to Canada to join the Force.

Frank sailed to Canada arriving in August 1957 without any supporting family in this new country to accept him and help him get established. In February 1958, only six months after his arrival, Frank applied to join the RCMP. On April 28, 1958, he was accepted, sworn in at Toronto, Ontario and sent to Ottawa for 10 months of rigorous training. Cst. Frank Pratt was transferred to the RCMP's headquarters in Montreal where he was temporarily assigned to work in the Division's Identification Services Section.

Frank requested for a transfer was accepted but, instead of Telecoms, he was assigned to the Security Intelligence Branch in Montreal in July 1962.

Frank found his second love as an investigator in the counter-intelligence field in Montreal. Several foreign consulates were located in the city and again, numerous countries used these diplomatic missions as cover for the posting of intelligence officers – spies – intent on collecting sensitive information relating to Canada. Foreign intelligence services would direct their spies to recruit agents within the government and industry to secretly gather classified information. Frank's job was to identify those spies under cover, determine what they were after, and advise government so that measures to stop them could be taken. Frank quickly concluded that the best way to find out what a spy was after was to recruit the spy to work for Canada.

Frank's unique skills as an investigator, recruiter and operator were thankfully recognized by senior officers. They concluded rightfully that his place was on the street, not behind a desk. Barry Sheard, a valued colleague and close friend in the Montreal years, recalls that Frank was designated as a "Detective Inspector" / Senior Investigator, - a singular role assigned to Frank alone. Frank was given flexibility to pursue promising opportunities as he saw them and he offered his counsel and energies generously to the full range of counter-intelligence units, each investigating intelligence activities by different foreign states.

Frank was transferred to Ottawa in the early 1980s. He was posted to what had been the RCMP's regional office in downtown Ottawa. After the Canadian Security Intelligence Service was created in July 1984 to replace the RCMP Security Service.

As confident as Frank was operating alone, he was open to working with a subordinate or a team and he welcomed and encouraged the camaraderie. He sought talented operators who shared his work ethic or young investigators he could mold, who held to high values and in whom he could place his trust. He was a generous mentor and spent a lot of time ensuring that you got things right.

Success to Frank was a collaborative process and his determination to succeed was unparalleled. He demanded professionalism and attention to detail by his team members and could be very stubborn when challenged. He was prepared to listen to contrary opinions, weigh them, and decide a course of action. When a decision was rendered, he carried out the plan assiduously, either personally or directing subordinates.

A media scan will find no shortage of stories referencing Frank Pratt. Frank is also named in articles as a molehunter responsible for investigating allegations of the RCMP or CSIS being penetrated by foreign intelligence.

Frank was working a case in Toronto in June 1994 when he was involved in a near-fatal multi-vehicle accident. He suffered catastrophic injuries, and his survival was anything but certain. He remained in hospital for three months and began a slow, painful recovery. He retired in March 1995 and hundreds attended his farewell party at the CSIS NHQ in Ottawa to express thanks and best wishes for the future.

Words often used in describing his character include tenacious, instinctive, irreverent, unstoppable, confident, hilarious, patriotic, proud, generous, impatient, charismatic, mentor, leader, optimist, loyal friend, dangerous adversary, son of Ireland, proud Canadian.

Frank was diagnosed with cancer in the late 1990s. He fought the brave fight but sadly this was one hill too high after an accomplished lifetime of reaching the summit. Frank died on November 24, 2001, and is buried in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police National Memorial Cemetery at Beechwood in Ottawa, Ontario.

Canadians also owe a great debt of gratitude to Ireland for allowing us to adopt Frank Pratt and making him our own.

MULROONEY, PATRICK (PAUD)

Born: 1941, Pallasgreen, County Limerick

Died: 2017, Toronto, Canada

Author: Deidre Mulrooney

Patrick (Paud) Mulrooney was born on February 23rd, 1941 in Pallasgreen, County Limerick where his father was stationed as a garda. The family moved into Limerick city in the 1950s, where he did his Leaving Certificate. An outdoors enthusiast, keen hunter, and fisherman from an early age, young Paud led camping expeditions all over Ireland.

After earning his fees labouring on the London underground, and at Walls Ice Cream and Sausage Factory, Paud enrolled at Dublin's Trinity College, where he did pre-Med, followed by Arts. But this adventurous spirit was already feeling the Call of the Wild, to Canada.

In 1967 Paud married Mary O'Brien, from Limerick, and they moved to Toronto, where they started their family. While Paud learned the highways and byways of Toronto's streets as a taxi driver, Mary, a teacher, was snapped up as a primary school teacher by Toronto's Metropolitan Separate School Board.

They left their first residence at 127 John street in the heart of downtown Toronto, a hub at the time for American 'draft dodgers', to buy a house in Toronto's beaches. Renting rooms to help pay the mortgage, their conscientious objector friends who were forming a film co-op, rented the top floor, and set up a dark room in the cupboard. Here they introduced Paud to the art of photography, and super 8 film. He eventually acquired their film equipment – which was to be put to good use in his next Canadian adventure toward 'True North'.

'Having lived in Toronto 5 years and achieved my objectives there', reminisced Paud in 2008, 'I realised that my Canadian experience was confined to the European perception of North America. It was time for first-hand lessons in Canadian history'. In the meantime Paud had qualified as a teacher at Toronto's Teacher's College. 'Luckily enough at that time Marten Falls required a school principal to implement major change giving native people control of education'. So, in 1974, a crucial point in the transition from the dreaded residential school system to native run, on-reserve education, (which began in 1972), Paud brought his family on a big adventure to remote North Ontario, starting with fly-in fly-out Ojibway reserve Ogoki Post, or Marten Falls.

Enjoying 'intimate contact with all members of the community and Federal government services, helping with the development of the curriculum reflecting native history and culture', Paud and Mary

ran the tiny school between them. In Ogoki Post where they spent seven years in all, and Cat Lake (two years) the Mulrooney children, who also learned Ojibway, were the only non-natives in the school. The Ojibway who had been punished and fined for speaking their own language at residential school, felt a strong affinity with the Irish.

Paud was a natural to implement the new North Ontario Parent's Handbook, a standardised document throughout native schools at that time, outlining that Ojibway language, traditions, and legends were to be taught by people from their own community, as part of the daily routine. The Mulrooneys adapted seamlessly to traditional Ojibway rhythms, when the students disappeared with their families for six weeks in November to go hunting, and in the Spring, to go trapping.

Paud relished being 'a student under expert guidance in fishing, hunting, and survival', as he learned how to hunt wild goose, partridge, duck, and to fish for pickerel, and sturgeon – pursuits which he said 'were a priority in selecting Canada as a destination'. Ogoki chief Harry Baxter recalled Paud fondly as 'more Indian than the Indians themselves', and lamented 'too bad there aren't any more Pat Mulrooney's around'.

Ojibway and Irish stories became inextricable as Paud immortalised his own children 'sliding down' with their native friends, playing games, ski-dooing, and swinging on the monkey bars. No wonder when he set eyes on Paud's photographs in 2008, former Ogoki chief Eli Moonias described them as 'powerful pictures'.

In an initiative that even today would be considered pioneering, Paud brought Cat Lake students on their first trip ever to Toronto on an exchange visit. He shared the learning from these first-hand lessons in his 1993 M. Ed. Thesis 'Handbook for Exchange Programs between Intermediate Students in Isolated Native Communities in Northern Ontario and Toronto'.

Paud's 1970s photographs and Super 8 footage not only provide a window into the seldom seen world of the Ojibway people at home in their natural environment, but today they are inspiring the next generation. 35 year old Gordina Oombash whose two uncles, Charles and Thomas tragically never returned from residential school founded Cat Lake Archive facebook group 'the first time we began to see our people in a context outside of Residential School, generational trauma, and the drunk Indian stereotypes', where Paud's photographs are finally fulfilling their destiny. 'Every time I share your photos and footage there is an energy in the air and the older generations begin to reminisce. They are finally opening up their memories to us and I am soaking up as much as I can. I've started making prints out of some of the photos I've received and will be making an album for the elders to look through'. Happy to feature in the Photo Album of the Irish: Canada where the Mulrooney Family

album highlights these affinities and natural friendships “The community... try to explain the feeling they get when they see these photos but it escapes them. It's overwhelming in a positive way’.

Paud Mulrooney died in Toronto on March 8th, 2017, at the age of 76, without seeing this happen. But he always hoped it would.

Further Reading:

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HENNESSEY, PATRICK

Born: 1885, Cork

Died: Hong Kong, 1941

Author: Mark McGowan

“Pat” Hennessey was a career soldier as was his father, grandfather, and great grandfather before him. The son of James William and Ellen Hennessey, little is known about his early life in Cork, except that he may have enlisted in the British Army, to take the “Queen’s Shilling” as early as 1900. What is certain is that he served with the British expeditionary force to South Africa during the Boer War, and then spent the next decade in the Service Corps of the Imperial Army. For reasons, not stated, Hennessey emigrated to Canada in 1912 and worked as a clerk in Ottawa, until Britain’s declaration of war on Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empires in 1914. Like thousands of other expatriate Irish, Scots, and English emigrants, Hennessey immediately boarded a train to Valcartier, Quebec, where he registered among the earliest recruits to the First Canadian Contingent.

Hennessey’s rise in the ranks of the Canadian Expeditionary Force was nothing short of meteoric. He attested as a Sargeant Major in September 1914, but it must have become evident to his superior officers that with his fourteen years experience in the Imperial Army’s Service Corps., and at 29 years of age, Patrick Hennessey stood head and shoulders among his peers. In February, 1915, he was promoted to Lieutenant, and granted his permanent commission. A year later, in France, he was promoted again to Captain, in the field. While fighting at the Front in January 1917, he was awarded the Military Cross for bravery, and later was promoted to staff Captain and adjutant to the 5th Canadian Brigade in the First Division. Never wounded, but always in the thick of the action, Hennessey continued to accumulate honours for his soldiering; he was mentioned in despatches (1918), won the Distinguished Service Order (DSO) that same year; and was honoured by the French Government with both the Croix de Guerre and the Medaille de Reconnaissance. At war’s end he remained with the Canadian Army Service Corps, organizing the demobilization of troops in the CEF until he himself was permitted to return to Canada, in November 1919.

Hennessey’s war records indicate that he made frequent visits to the United Kingdom during his service in France, where he married Ellen Dorothy Robb in Edinburgh, Scotland, on 21 June 1915. Ellen gave birth to their first son, Ralph Lucian, in 1918, and daughter Joan Noreen, a year later. In 1919, Patrick Hennessey was demobilized to Tuxedo Barracks, outside of Winnipeg, Manitoba, but his young family was unable to join him until 1920. It was at the barracks where their third, and last child, Brian Patrick was born. Hennessey remained in the Canadian Army, was promoted to Major and spent the interwar period in the RCASC, becoming Deputy Adjutant and Quartermaster General in Military

District #10 (Manitoba & Saskatchewan), and later District Supply and Transport Officer for Military Districts #10 and #11 (BC). In 1931, his military organizational prowess prompted his transfer to Toronto, where he remained until 1937. At Camp Borden, north of Toronto, he organized the Army Service Corps Training Centre, which was the first of its kind in Canada. In 1937, he was transferred to Military District #1 (London), and then later to National Defense Headquarters in Ottawa, where he was in 1939, when war broke out again. He was one of the first officers to enlist, and had been promoted to Lieutenant Colonel.

Hennessy's genius for organization and management ultimately would cost him his life. In 1941, with Japan threatening to expand its empire beyond occupied China, British military leaders worried about the defence of Commonwealth countries in the region. British generals and Prime Minister Winston Churchill debated if Hong Kong could be defended at all. The Japanese Army was superior in numbers and the Government of Vichy France had permitted Japan to construct aerodromes in Indochina (Vietnam), in dangerous striking distance of Hong Kong. While Churchill believed that the defence of Hong Kong was a lost cause, he believed the Allies had to mount a defence, in order to convince General Chaing Kai Shek and the Nationalist Chinese that Britain had not abandoned the Asian theatre of the war. Britain called upon the Canadian Government for support, and Prime Minister William Lyon McKenzie King and Defence Minister John Ralston, agreed to send two battalions, the Winnipeg Grenadiers, and the Quebec Royal Rifles.

The Ministry of Defence designated the newly elevated Colonel Partrick Hennessy as second in command and chief administrator of the C-Force to Hong Kong. The Canadians, including Hennessy's RCASC detachment left Vancouver on two ships 27 October 1941, arriving in Hong Kong on November 16th. The C-Force was billeted in mainland Kowloon, although Hennessy and Brigadier General John K. Lawson set up the command post in Hong Kong proper. After the Japanese had launched a devastating surprise attack on the American Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941, the Imperial Japanese Army swiftly invaded territories in southeast Asia with the hopes of capturing oil refineries and rubber plantations in the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia). On December 13, having their order of surrender rebuked by the British Governor, the Japanese army bombarded and invaded Hong Kong. The Canadians, undersupplied and out gunned, withheld the siege for over a week. General Lawson was killed by Japanese snipers on December 19, leaving Hennessy in command of what remained of C-Force. Hennessy attempted to consolidate the Canadian position called the "Peak" near Victoria. The position was heavily shelled both by ground fire and air attacks. Hennessy was seriously wounded by a shell that shredded his legs. He died on route to the Canadian aid post on December 20th. Five days later, on Christmas Day, the Canadian and British survivors surrendered. Of

the 1,975 Canadians who landed in Hong Kong 557 were killed, and the rest, including the wounded were taken prisoner.

Patrick Hennessy was buried in the Sai Wan Cemetery in Hong Kong. His career was celebrated in papers across Canada as “a distinguished soldier” who rose through the ranks. Hennessy’s sons also served in the Canadian Forces in World War II. Brian Patrick followed his father into the RCASC and ended his career as a Lieutenant Colonel, in 1972. Ralph Lucien, departed from the family’s army traditions and joined the Canadian Navy, retiring as a Rear Admiral. The “fighting Hennessys” represent a long tradition of Irish enlistment in the Imperial Forces, but more importantly a tradition that continued in their new Canadian home.

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MOTHER MCGINTY *IN PROGRESS

Born: ?

Died: ?

Author: Grant Vogl